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NOTES AND NEWS

IT is with deep regret that we record the death at his home at Port Washington, New York, on 13 April, of Dr. Francis Neilson.

As the title of his autobiography indicates, Dr. Neilson was a man of two worlds. Born at Birkenhead, Cheshire, in 1867, he went to America in 1889 as a theatre critic, returning to this country eight years later to become stage director for Charles Frohman and the Royal Opera at Covent Garden. In 1910 he was elected Liberal M.P. for the Hyde Division of Cheshire, resigning in 1916. He took American citizenship in 1921.

DR. FRANCIS
NEILSON

Dr. Neilson was a man of wide and varied interests, ranging over many fields—the theatre, literature, politics, economics and sociology. He was a former President of the National Drama League of America and a member of the governing body of the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre. A prolific writer, he has an impressive list of publications to his name covering a period of more than half a century. Dr. Neilson always maintained his interest in Liverpool and was a generous benefactor to the Cathedral—he was a member of the Dean's Chapter Council—where he established a school of cultural studies. He was, too, one of the most generous benefactors of this Library, of which he was an Honorary Governor. He had a particular interest in the Library BULLETIN, to which he felt he owed a great debt, an

interest which found practical expression in the establishing of the Francis Neilson Fund to aid its publication.

At a Meeting of the Council of Governors held on 17 April, it was resolved that the following tribute, contributed to the press by the Director, be inscribed in the Minutes:

“To be in the presence of Francis Neilson was to sense greatness. It radiated from his person. To be in his company was both entertainment and education. During a lifetime which embraced many spheres of interest and activity he had laid up a vast store of knowledge and experience through which his great natural talents found their full expression. He had mixed with the great in two worlds, and the effects of the impacts remained with him. He had a wealth of anecdote and the good raconteur’s skill in imparting it in a way which fascinated and thrilled. He had, too, a most astounding memory which never deserted him and on which he could draw with certainty. Although the passing years dulled his hearing and dimmed his eyesight, his mind remained clear and his voice strong and resonant.

“Although endowed with wealth he set small store by money as such. He parted with it freely for any good cause which appealed to him. Both Liverpool Cathedral and the John Rylands Library have good reason to bless his generosity. He lived simply. Splendour had no attraction for him. He had a beautiful Long Island home, a small bungalow, set charmingly in a woody terrain, where he lived laborious days, for he could never be idle. From his rich mind there poured forth to the very last books and articles on many subjects—not heavily scholarly, but laced with authority, and eminently readable. Blessed with a strong constitution he successfully defied the encroachments of the years and in the summer of 1960, at the age of 93, he paid the last of many visits to this country. In its course he visited Manchester to be guest of honour at a luncheon at the University where he met his fellow Governors of the Rylands Library. Those who were privileged to be present are not likely to forget the profound impression he made upon them.

“Francis Neilson was a product of the Victorian age with the hallmarks of its greatness manifest upon him. We cannot hope to see his like again.”

To commemorate the 350th anniversary of the publication of the Authorised Version of the English Bible and to mark the appearance of the first edition of the latest translation of the New Testament, an exhibition of manuscripts and printed books selected from our Bible Collection has been on display in the Main Library since the 20 March.

The Library has manuscripts of the Bible on papyrus, parchment and paper in many tongues, ranging from the second century B.C. to the present century. Four cases are devoted to these in the present exhibition. In the first, which deals with the basic languages, Hebrew, Samaritan and Greek, may be seen two noteworthy Greek papyri from Egypt. The first, containing part of Chapter xviii of St. John's Gospel, dates, by consensus of expert opinion, from the first half of the second century and is the earliest known piece of New Testament writing in any language. The second, discovered in a piece of mummy wrapping, consists of fragments of Deuteronomy dating from the second century B.C. which are the oldest surviving fragments of the Greek Septuagint, the first translation into Greek of the Old Testament. From our early Greek Gospel Books is exhibited in the same case an illuminated codex of the eleventh century. Side by side with the Greek texts are displayed four in Hebrew: a seventeenth-century vellum scroll of the Law, a scroll of Esther, a thirteenth-century Hebrew Bible, and a parchment fragment of Jeremiah. The last, which has a colophon containing the date (=A.D. 954), is one of the oldest dated manuscripts of the Old Testament in Hebrew. The scroll of Esther, 14½ ft. long and illuminated for its whole length, has a colophon stating that it was finished in "the year 5271" (=A.D. 1511). From the Library's Samaritan manuscripts, which number over 300 codices, a Pentateuch dated A.D. 1211 has been selected for exhibition, as it is the earliest dated manuscript of the whole Samaritan Pentateuch to be found outside Nablus, the headquarters of the Samaritan community.

The second case consists of manuscripts of the Vulgate dating from the tenth century to the fourteenth and written in England, France, Flanders, Germany and Italy. Perhaps the most striking is a tenth century Gospel Book, executed at Trier

for the Emperor Otto III, which is ornamented throughout in gold and colours on backgrounds of purple. Of similar splendour is a thirteenth-century Bible, written in France in a minute script and also profusely illuminated throughout, which formerly belonged to the Duchesse de Berri; it has been described as one of the most perfect specimens of its kind. In two of the codices shown the illustrations of the Bible text are the main feature. These are an early fourteenth-century Apocalypse from France and a "*Speculum Humanae Salvationis*" executed in Germany in the fifteenth century, which tells the Bible story pictorially from the Fall to the Redemption.

The Library possesses many manuscripts of the Bible in other languages and the third case is devoted to a selection from these. The earliest texts shown here are a Syriac Gospel Book (c. 550 A.D.); a parchment fragment of St. Luke in Coptic (7th/8th cent.); and an Armenian Gospel Book (10th/11th cent.). Also in this case are a thirteenth-century Arabic New Testament and an Ethiopic version of Enoch, Job and Kings, written probably in the fifteenth century. The Library has fifteen manuscripts of the first complete English Bible, the Wycliffite translation, and one of these, a portion of the Old Testament written and adorned in this country in the early fifteenth century, is also displayed.

Medieval manuscript commentaries ranging, with one exception, from the ninth to the twelfth century fill the fourth case. Included are commentaries by the Venerable Bede, St. Augustine, Origen, St. Gregory the Great and St. Jerome. The earliest, Origen's Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, dates from the ninth century and is known to have formed part of the Chapter Library of Beauvais Cathedral in the twelfth century. Another, containing the Pauline Epistles with marginal and interlinear glosses (11th/12th cent.), came from the Cathedral Priory of St. Andrew at Rochester. From the point of view of decoration, perhaps the finest of the commentaries exhibited is that of the Franciscan Nicholas de Lyra. It is in three volumes, of which the third, containing the New Testament, is displayed. Written and illuminated by order of Pandolfo di Malatesta, it was finished in the Franciscan

convent at Pesaro in April 1402 and is adorned throughout with magnificent borders and miniatures in gold and colours.

The Rylands collection of printed Bibles is of outstanding importance, and includes a fine series of 77 editions of the Latin Vulgate printed in the fifteenth century, PRINTED
BOOKS as well as a number of editions of the Hebrew text and of translations into Western European languages dating from the same period. This exhibition finds room for only one fifteenth-century edition of the Vulgate, the most famous of all printed books, the Bible produced at Mainz by Johann Gutenberg. This magnificent edition, the earliest printed book of any size to have come down to us, is known to have been completed before the 24 August 1456. With it may be seen the first printed Hebrew text, a Psalter printed at Bologna in 1477, and the first Greek Bible, printed by the Venetian printer, Aldus Manutius, in 1518. Early polyglot editions shown include the Genoa Psalter of 1516, with its marginal note to the "traveller's" psalm (xix) which refers to the voyages of Genoa's most celebrated son, Christopher Columbus; a volume of the "Complutensian" polyglot, in six volumes, undertaken to celebrate the birth of the future Emperor Charles V and printed between 1514 and 1517 at Alcala in Spain; and the first edition (1516) of Erasmus's revision of the Greek Testament, with his new Latin translation. Vernacular translations include the first in German, printed by Mentelin at Strassburg in 1466, the first in Italian, printed by Vindelino de Spira at Venice in 1471, and one of the earliest French New Testaments, printed by Bartholomé Buyer at Lyons, c. 1475. Other German translations are Luther's Bible, printed at Nuremberg in 1524, and his earlier translation of the New Testament in the two editions of September and December, 1522. The variations in the illustrations, ascribed to Lucas Cranach, in these two editions are of interest. In the earlier the Scarlet Woman and the Dragon are crowned with a Papal tiara; in the later this offensive woodcut was modified by the substitution of a coronet for the tiara.

As is fitting in an exhibition designed to mark the 350th anniversary of King James's Bible much space is devoted to the development of the English Bible. Before Tyndale made his

translation of the New Testament considerable portions of the Pentateuch and the Gospels, in a fairly literal English translation, were incorporated in such works as the *Golden Legend* of Jacobus de Voragine. The English translation of this work, printed by Caxton in 1483, is on view alongside Bishop Fisher's sermons on *The seven penytencyall psalmes*, which included a translation and were printed by Wynkyn de Worde, Caxton's successor, in 1508.

In order to achieve his aim of making the Bible available to the "boy that driveth the plough", Tyndale was forced to embrace exile, and facsimiles are shown of the Cologne and Worms editions, both of 1525, of his New Testament. With them are original editions of his revisions, printed in Antwerp in 1534 and 1535, as well as one which appeared after his death. His Pentateuch of 1530-4, and controversial works upon the question of translating the Scriptures by Tyndale himself, by Erasmus and by St. Thomas More are shown with a copy of Foxe's *Actes and monuments*, 1563, open at a woodcut of Tyndale's execution at Vilvorde on 6 October 1536.

Coverdale carried on Tyndale's work, at first like him in exile, and his Bible of 1535, the first complete Bible to be printed in the English language, appeared at Marburg, and may be seen with the Southwark editions of 1537 and with his revision of 1550. His New Testament in Latin and English of 1538, so incorrectly printed by Nicolson at Southwark that Coverdale disowned it, is shown with the edition of the same year printed, under the supervision of the translator, by Regnault in Paris. With the same printer he was engaged on the production of the "Great Bible" of 1539, which, said Cromwell's injunctions to the clergy, was to be "set up in sum convenient place wythin the said church that ye have cure of, where-as your parishioners may most cōmodiously resorte to the same and reade it." This, with "Cranmer's Bible", an edition of the same Bible issued in the following year with a prologue by the Archbishop, may also be seen.

The "Genevan New Testament" of 1557 and the "Genevan Bible" of 1560, the first edition of the popular "breeches Bible", prepared for the followers of John Knox in exile at

Geneva, are displayed alongside the "Bishop's Bible" of 1568. The last is a revision of the "Great Bible" undertaken by Archbishop Parker, assisted by Bishops and other Biblical scholars, and ordered by Convocation to "be placed in the hall or large dining-room" of every archbishop and bishop "that it might be useful to their servants or to strangers". Here, too, are the first Roman Catholic translations, the "Rheims New Testament" of 1582, prepared by the English College at Rheims, and the "Douay Bible" of 1609-10, prepared by the same hands, the delay in publication being due to "one general cause, our poore estate in banishment".

Of "King James's Bible", the so-called "Authorised Version", the most striking result of the Hampton Court Conference of 1604, the first edition of 1611, in folio, is shown, with the quarto and octavo editions of the following year, and an edition of 1616 which bears the arms of the King on its binding. To illustrate how soon revision of this version was considered necessary a copy of "the authentique corrected edition" of 1638, printed at Cambridge by the University printers, Buck and Daniel, is also on display.

Later revisions are represented by the "Revised Version" of the New Testament, 1881, and of the complete Bible, 1885, and by a selection of translations from the twentieth century, including those of Weymouth, Moffatt and Knox, the "Revised Standard Version" of the American Committee, and the New Testament, published in March, part of the translation of the whole Bible at present being prepared under the auspices of a Joint Committee of the Protestant Churches in Great Britain.

In April the Bible Exhibition was temporarily replaced by an exhibition of manuscripts and books of Italian origin, held in connection with "Italy in Manchester" week. This was visited on 10 April by the Rt. Hon. the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress of Manchester (Alderman Arthur Donovan, J.P., and Mrs. James Walton) and their distinguished guest the Italian Ambassador (H.E. Count Zoppi). Also present on this occasion were the consuls from Manchester and Liverpool, Professor Gabriele Baldini, Director of the

ITALIAN
EXHIBITION

Italian Institute of Culture, and a number of representative citizens.

The manuscripts of Italian interest displayed ranged from the eleventh century to the nineteenth and included examples of rare texts, medieval and Renaissance illumination, and letters and diaries of English visitors to Italy. Among the texts were a fourteenth-century codex of the "canzoni" of Dante and Petrarch, written for Lorenzo, son of Carlo degli Strozzi, containing illuminated borders in which are portraits of the poets and their ladies; one of the few dated manuscripts (June 1416) of the "Divina Commedia"; one of the earliest surviving manuscripts of the "Fioretti" of St. Francis; and two important codices concerning Savonarola, one of them apparently Violi's own manuscript of his "Apologia". Examples of illumination, which dated from the thirteenth to the early sixteenth century, included a text of the "De Regimine Principum" written and adorned (1303) during its author's lifetime; a fourteenth-century Psalter from Brescia; a fifteenth-century Carmelite missal, perhaps from Padua; classical texts showing the white vine-stem style; and a fine Missal (one of six volumes, all in the Library) executed for Cardinal Pompeo Colonna (d. 1532). Among records and more modern items on display were a Medici Will (1354) and Account Book (sixteenth cent.), Italian correspondence and journals of Dr. Johnson's friend Mrs. Thrale-Piozzi, consular correspondence (1779-83) of Viscount Mount-Stuart, Minister Plenipotentiary at Turin, and letters of Ruskin and Landor written from Italy.

Of the six cases of printed books the first contained the first surviving book printed in Italy and the first book in which a complete fount of Greek was employed, both printed at Subiaco in 1465 by Sweynheym and Pannartz, the first book printed in Rome, the work of the same printers, and the first book from a Venetian press, De Spira's *Epistolae familiares* of 1469. A second case contained the first imprints from the first presses in various lesser Italian towns, including Treviso, Verona, Padua, Colle di Valdelsa and Messina, in all of which printers were at work before 1480, and with them lay the unique first Greek text, the *Batrachomyomachia* of Homer, Brescia, 1474. Another case

showing examples of fifteenth-century book illustration included the only complete copy of the first illustrated book to appear in Italy, Turrecremata's *Meditationes*, Han, 1467, Laurentius's edition of the *Divina Commedia*, 1481, with the complete set of twenty engravings after Botticelli, and the Ptolemy of Arnoldus Buckinck, Rome, 1478, with engraved maps. Representing the Library's unrivalled collection of Aldines were Bembo, *De Aetna*, 1495-6, the rare *Horae* in Greek of 1497, the Virgil of 1501, the first book in italic type, the first Aristotle in Greek, 1495-8, and the beautifully illustrated *Hypnerotomachia* of 1499. In another case appeared first editions of Dante, Petrarch, Ariosto and Boccaccio. The *Divina Commedia* of Neumeister, Foligno, 1472, represented our series of fourteen out of a possible fifteen incunable editions, and lay alongside the *Canzoniere* of Petrarch, De Spira, 1470, the first book printed in the vernacular. With the Naples edition, c. 1470, of Boccaccio's *Decamerone* was the only perfect copy of the Valdarfer edition of 1471, to the sale of which in 1812 the Roxburghe Club owes its origin. First editions of the minor works of these authors and a copy of the very rare *Orlando furioso* of 1516 completed the case. Little room remained to illustrate later Italian printing, but examples of the work of the Bodoni and Vatican presses and of a few modern Italian printers were exhibited.

A recent gift of interest, presented by Lord Stamford, a Trustee of the Library, is a copy of *White's Beyträge zur Naturgeschichte von England. Aus dem Englischen übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen begleitet von Friedrich Albrecht Anton Meyer . . .*, Berlin, 1792, 8vo. The first edition of White's *The Natural History and Antiquities of Selborne* was published in 1789; it is therefore somewhat surprising to find a German abridgement at so early a date. The volume is extremely rare and no copy is to be found in the British Museum Catalogue. The following description of the book, by Alfred Newton, bibliographer of Gilbert White, is taken from *N. & Q.*, vii, 5, p. 265: "According to the youthful translator's preface, the original has much chaff (Spreu) in it, but also some corn that is worth transplanting into German soil,

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which he therefore condescends to extract, warning his readers, however, that the book is not for the learned, but only for such as wish to entertain themselves with a little knowledge. The extracts so put together entirely lose their epistolary character, though the translator keeps up the name. Thus White's first six letters to Pennant are condensed by Meyer into his 'Erster Brief', while the last and 'Vierzehnter Brief' is compounded of part of White's fifty-eighth to Barrington, with a single paragraph from his next, and the final paragraph of the whole *Nat. Hist. Selb.* The translation is not very accurate, and the editor's remarks are inserted in the text, between brackets, often with a sneer." On the title-page the translator describes himself as "der Weltweisheit und Arzneygelahrtheit Doctor und Priyatdocent zu Göttingen".

Mr. G. L. Behrens has presented a large folio, *The Fishmongers' pageant on Lord Mayor's Day, 1616*. This is an account, produced for the Fishmonger's Company in 1844 by the antiquary John Gough Nichols, of the Company's pageants in general, and, in particular, of that of 1616 which was devised by Anthony Munday. It contains reproductions of contemporary drawings made at the instance of the Lord Mayor, John Leman, and is accompanied by eleven sheets of mounted cuttings and illustrations relating to Billingsgate, ranging in date from the beginning of the eighteenth century to 1880.

The earlier of two recently acquired incunables is a collection of tracts on the Trinity by St. Augustine, Hilarius and Boethius, printed in Venice by Paganinus de Paganinis with the date, 12 November 1489. In the British Museum *Catalogue of books printed in the XVth Century* the collection is treated as one book (BMC. V, IA23259), but in the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* the three parts are separately catalogued, Augustine as no. 2927 and Boethius as no. 4588. Paganinus first appeared as an independent printer in April 1487, and the press he then established was still in operation in the sixteenth century. It was controlled for three distinct periods by Paganinus, and in the intervals by two other members of the family. Jacobus and Hieronymus. The press was

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previously represented in the Rylands collection by an edition of Statius, printed by Jacobus, 24 December 1490 (*BMC*. V, IB23305) and by Latin Bibles printed by Hieronymus, 7 September 1492 (*GKW*. 4271) and 7 September 1497 (*GKW*. 4278), and by Paganinus, 18 April 1495 (*GKW*. 4283). No example of the work of Paganinus in his earliest period, 1487 to 1490, was hitherto in the Library, and for the first time his two early Gothic types (64 mm. and 120 mm.) are represented.

Of the translation by Lapus Biragus of the *Antiquitates Romanae* of Dionysius of Halicarnassus two editions were printed in the fifteenth century. The earlier, printed at Treviso by Bernardinus Celerius, 24 February 1480 (*GKW*. 8423), is already in the Library as part of the Spencer collection. Newly acquired is the edition, based on that of Treviso, which was printed by Franciscus De Mazalibus at Reggio Emilia, 12 November 1498 (*GKW*. 8424), in a Roman type (99 mm.) which he used in no other book. Before the turn of the century De Mazalibus made use of four Roman types and one Greek type; all of these are now represented in the Library with the exception of his first Roman type, which was taken over by De Pasqualibus at Scandiano to complete the edition of Appian commenced by De Mazalibus. The last leaf bears the device of De Mazalibus, a close copy of that used by De Ruberia at Bologna.

The following is a list of recent Library Publications, consisting of reprints of articles which appeared in the latest issue of the *BULLETIN* (March 1961):

"Sir John Bowring and the *Arrow* War in China". By G. F. Bartle, 8vo, pp. 24. Price five shillings net.

RECENT
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"The Personification of Death in Some Ancient Religions". By S. G. F. Brandon, Professor of Comparative Religion in the University of Manchester. 8vo, pp. 19. Price four shillings net.

"The Book of Zechariah and the Passion Narrative". By F. F. Bruce, Rylands Professor of Biblical Criticism and Exegesis in the University of Manchester. 8vo, pp. 18. Price four shillings net.

"The Changing Pattern of Thought in the Earlier Fourteenth Century". By Gordon Leff, Lecturer in History in the University of Manchester. 8vo, pp. 19. Price four shillings net.

"Myth and Ritual in Early Greece". By A. N. Marlow, Senior Lecturer in Latin in the University of Manchester. 8vo, pp. 30. Price five shillings net.

"The Novels of Mrs. Gaskell". By Arthur Pollard, Lecturer in English Literature in the University of Manchester. 8vo, pp. 23. Price five shillings net.

"The Psalm Translation of Heinrich Von Mügeln". By F. W. Ratcliffe. 8vo, pp. 26. Price five shillings net.

"The Illuminations of Armenian Manuscript 10 in the John Rylands Library". By D. Talbot Rice, Watson Gordon Professor of the History of Fine Art in the University of Edinburgh. 8vo, pp. 7. With four plates. Price three shillings net.

"Standards Applied by Muslim Traditionists". By James Robson, Emeritus Professor of Arabic in the University of Manchester. 8vo, pp. 21. Price four shillings net.

"Studies in the Archaeology of the Near East. I: The Derivations of the Nomenclatures of the Cultures of the Egyptian Palaeolithic and Predynastic Periods". By Alan Rowe, Sometime Lecturer in Near Eastern Archaeology in the University of Manchester and formerly Director, Graeco-Roman Museum, Alexandria. 8vo, pp. 12. Price three shillings net.

"Thomas Müntzer, Hans Huth and the 'Gospel of All Creatures'." By E. Gordon Rupp, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Manchester. 8vo, pp. 28. Price five shillings net.

"Ruskin's Correspondence with his God-daughter Constance Oldham". By Margaret E. Spence, Lecturer in the Department of Education in the University of Liverpool. 8vo. pp. 18. Price four shillings net.

The following is a list of the public lectures (the sixtieth series) which have been arranged for delivery in the Lecture Hall of the Library during the current session 1961-2, at 3 p.m. in the afternoon :

THE SIX-
TIETH SERIES
OF RYLANDS
PUBLIC
LECTURES

18 October 1961. "Parson Weems and George Washington's Cherry Tree." By M. F. Cunliffe, Professor of American History and Institutions in the University of Manchester.

8 November 1961. "Christianity under Claudius." By F. F. Bruce, Rylands Professor of Biblical Criticism and Exegesis in the University of Manchester.

6 December 1961. "Shakespeare and Byron." By G. Wilson Knight, Professor of English Literature in the University of Leeds.

24 January 1962. "The Nature and Function of the Egyptian Temple." By H. W. Fairman, Brunner Professor of Egyptology in the University of Liverpool.

14 February 1962. "The Early Prophecies of Jeremiah in their Setting." By H. H. Rowley, Emeritus Professor of Hebrew Language and Literature in the University of Manchester.

14 March 1962. "Vadianus, Johannes Kessler and the 'Sabbata'." By E. G. Rupp, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Manchester.

2 May 1962. "The Roman Army and Roman Religion" (with lantern slides). By I. A. Richmond, Professor of the Archaeology of the Roman Empire in the University of Oxford.

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United States of America : National Archives [12] ; Uppsala : Exegetiska Seminariet ; Utrecht University Library [2].

Viaceli : Abadia.

Washington : Folger Shakespeare Library [2] ; Washington : Library of Congress ; Washington : Smithsonian Institution [10].

Yale University Library ; York : Borthwick Institute of Historical Research.

Zürich : Zentralbibliothek [18].

In addition to these donations many learned societies and other bodies have continued to present copies of their periodical publications.

THE *BRITISH HISTORY* IN EARLY TUDOR PROPAGANDA.

WITH AN APPENDIX OF MANUSCRIPT PEDIGREES OF THE KINGS OF ENGLAND,
HENRY VI TO HENRY VIII

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Cadwaladers Blodde lynally descending,
Longe hath bee towlde of such a Prince comyng,
Wherfor Frendes, if that I shal not lye,
This same is the Fulfiller of the Profecy.¹

THESE words, written to greet King Henry VII on his triumphal entry into Worcester in 1486, serve to introduce a problem central to the study of Early Tudor propaganda—the British descent of the Tudor dynasty.²

The root of the problem lies in the attitude, current in the fifteenth century, towards the early history of the country; and the source for this attitude was the twelfth-century *Historia Regum Britanniae* by Geoffrey of Monmouth. Here the four elements with which this study is concerned were first linked together:

¹ John Leland, *De Rebus Britannicis Collectanea* (ed. Thomas Hearne, London, 1770), iv. 196. This verse is part of a speech, to have been uttered by *Janitor*, welcoming Henry VII to Worcester. This pageant series was, however, never performed.

² Henry VII's regality was not altogether unimpeachable and therefore the imagery and symbolism of his public shows aimed at emphasizing his claims to the throne. Henry came to power as representative of the House of Lancaster since he could claim descent from John of Gaunt and kinship with the last Lancastrian monarch, Henry VI. This Lancastrian connection was publicized and exploited in two ways: by the introduction of the red rose symbol to counter-balance the famous white rose of York; and by the attempt to obtain canonization for Henry VI which would increase respect for the Lancastrian party and would further discredit the Yorkists who, it was alleged, had murdered the saintly king. But this official Lancastrian descent was unsound and was, accordingly, reinforced by another genealogical argument tracing the Tudor descent, through the Welsh princes, back to the primitive British kings. This last theme has most attracted the attention of subsequent literary historians and is the subject of the present article.

the Trojan descent of the British kings ; the prophecy to Cadwalader of an ultimate British triumph over the Saxon invaders ; the greatness of King Arthur ; and the British significance of the red dragon. The *British History* records the arrival of Brutus, grandson of the Trojan hero Aeneas, who conquered the giants then in possession of the land and built Trinovantum (London). The realm was divided at Brutus's death but subsequently descended in the line of his eldest son. Several of the later kings gained considerable victories on the Continent and even prevailed against the might of Rome. The Saxon invasions led to the prophecies of Merlin and to the vision conjured up before King Vortigern of a struggle between a red dragon, symbolizing the British, and a white dragon symbolizing the Saxons. At first the white dragon is successful but is ultimately vanquished by the red—thus was prophesied the final triumph of the British. The varied fortunes of the succeeding years are then narrated in the *History* which tells of mighty King Arthur who overthrew the Saxons, Picts and Scots, Ireland, Iceland, Sweden, the Orkneys, Norway, and Denmark, conquered Gaul and defeated a great Roman army which attempted to halt his advance. Finally, Arthur was preparing an assault upon Rome itself when news of rebellion forced him to return to Britain. He perished in the ensuing civil war and was succeeded by his nephew. Eventually the land was overcome by the Saxons, and Cadwalader, the last British king, his resources drained by famine and plague, was compelled to flee abroad and died at Rome. The book draws to its close again emphasizing the prophecies made to Vortigern, though this time it was an angel who informed Cadwalader that the British would one day recover their land from the Saxons.

It is not necessary here to examine the motives which induced Geoffrey to write this history. But the impact made by his volume is of direct concern.¹ There was immediate opposition and a

¹ There is, of course, a considerable Galfridian literature. But the most balanced work upon Geoffrey's motives, as upon most problems arising from the *British History*, is John Strong Perry Tatlock, *The legendary history of Britain. Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia Regum Britanniae and its early vernacular versions* (Berkeley, 1950). On the history of the reception of Geoffrey's work see T. D. Kendrick, *British Antiquity* (London, 1950).

challenge to its veracity ; Giraldus Cambrensis and William of Newburgh both voiced strong criticism, but this was drowned amidst the general tide of acceptance. Even those who found fault with certain aspects of Geoffrey's narrative, such as Ralph Higden, still accepted the basic Trojan history scheme underlying it and even adorned it with creations of their own so that the *British History* became a "formidable deadweight of antiquarian opinion" ¹ and remained as such into the period with which this essay is concerned and for which it provided the bases of historical thought.

Historians approaching the Tudor period with these ideas in mind have been impressed by what appear to be striking references to these themes in literature, pageantry, genealogies and devices, all stemming from the Welsh descent of Henry Tudor. Henry VII's grandfather Owen Tudor came from an ancient family in Anglesey and could trace his descent via Llewellyn ap Griffith to Cadwalader and, therefore, back to the Trojan founders of Britain. Thus, it is said, Henry Tudor came to the English throne as a Welsh prince and heir to the line of Brutus ; and accordingly three main ideas have been propagated : that the Tudor period witnessed an unprecedented burst of enthusiasm for the *British History* now verified by the fulfilment of the Cadwalader prophecy ; that there was a continuous and officially-encouraged cult of King Arthur ; and that the Tudors adopted the *red dragon of Cadwalader* as a symbol of their descent from the last British king. ²

Such is the accepted version of the early Tudor attitude towards the history of its dynasty and the use of this history as propaganda. The basic theme is the British descent and it will be seen that it is necessary to modify the theories concerning this in two ways ; that the Tudor use of the descent from the primitive rulers of Britain was not an innovation ; and that the Tudor

¹ Kendrick, p. 18.

² Charles Bowie Millican, *Spenser and the Table Round* (Cambridge, Mass., 1932), has the most elaborate statement of these views and has influenced practically every subsequent writer on this subject. Another well-known work, E. A. Greenlaw, *Studies in Spenser's Historical Allegory* (Baltimore, 1932), has also done much to propagate this clear-cut view of Tudor historical primitivism.

use of the *British History* was not as extensive nor as important as has been supposed.

The most fervent expressions of enthusiasm for Henry Tudor's descent occurred in Wales in the vaticinatory verse predicting the Tudor triumph. Here references abound to the *British History*, Brutus, Cadwalader, the dragon prophecy and every relevant symbol, and there can be no doubt that there was a deliberate attempt, by the Welsh bards, to foster enthusiasm for Henry against Richard III who had forfeited the loyalty of the Welsh Yorkists by the extinction of the line of Edward IV.¹ But this verse was an outburst spawned by the impending struggle between Henry and Richard and is not indicative of a continuous cult of the *British History* under the Tudor kings. Nor was it a novelty. Henry Tudor was but the last of a long line of Welsh messiahs whose success had been prophesied, with varying results, by bards throughout the fifteenth century.² These poets were not concerned with the English dynastic struggles but were seeking a great Welsh leader whose like had not been seen since the time of Owen Glendower. A succession of heroes had been vaunted by the poets; Griffith ap Nicholas, Jasper Tudor, William Herbert, and finally Henry of Richmond, Jasper Tudor's nephew. Nor were the Tudors the first royal line to have a Welsh descent that could be exploited by the bards. The Yorkists too had a valid genealogy which was much vaunted by a poet such as Lewis Glyn Cothi, later a fervent writer on behalf of Henry Tudor, who saw Edward IV as a descendant of Gwladys Duy, daughter of Llewelin the Great, and he appealed to the king, as a *royal Welshman*, to rid the land of oppression.³ Gutto'r Glyn also asserted the British origin of Edward IV and asked him to descend upon the "deceits and wrongs of Wales".⁴ These writers, as Howell Evans makes clear, should not be charged with apostasy because their panegyrics alternated between the two parties; they were consistent in their nationalism and sincere in their support of Henry Tudor and Edward IV alike. Thus too much should not

¹ W. Garmon Jones, "Welsh Nationalism and Henry Tudor", *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* (session 1917-18).

² Howell T. Evans, *Wales and the Wars of the Roses* (Cambridge, 1915), chap. i.

³ Evans, pp. 9-10.

⁴ Garmon Jones, pp. 21-2.

be made of the eulogies of Henry as an example of a new cult ; rather they were part of a long tradition ; and they probably owe their large-scale survival to the fact that, unlike the other candidates for Welsh support, Henry Tudor was successful and his dynasty continued to be so.

It is surprising, in view of the emphasis placed upon the Tudor genealogies by recent enthusiasts for the *British History*, that little study has been made of earlier genealogies from a comparative viewpoint. The appearance of Brutus or Cadwalader in Tudor genealogies, not so very frequent as will soon be seen, has been made a plank in the case for a Tudor efflorescence of this kind of propagandist approach to history. However, during the fifteenth century there was a proliferation of elaborate genealogical rolls which sought to trace the kings of England back to their remote forbears. This may have been due to the uncertainty engendered by the rivalry of Henry VI, Richard, Duke of York, and Edward IV, and partly may be interpreted as the development of a paper chivalry which grew as the feudal bases of society became increasingly remote and ineffective. Whatever the cause, there was a tremendous increase of such genealogies during the reign of Henry VI ; but although many of these include a conventional account of the *British History* there was no attempt to connect Henry VI with the British and Trojan kings—for there was no connection that could have been satisfactorily employed.¹

However, it was a different matter with Edward IV. His father Richard, Duke of York, was the son of Anne, daughter of Roger Mortimer, Earl of March. The Mortimers could trace their descent to the marriage, in 1230, between Ralph de Mortimer

¹ See the appendix to this article, "Genealogies of the Kings of England : Henry VI to Henry VIII", below pp. 41-48. Even those roll pedigrees showing the *British History* have a complete break with the coming and triumph of the Saxons. Sometimes a line is ruled right across the roll before the Saxon heptarchy begins. In some instances the British line continues parallel to the English but peters out at about the time of Edward I or Edward II and has no connection with the central royal line. It is, perhaps, worth noting that one of the pageants for the entry of Henry VI into London in 1432 depicted the King's descent from St. Edward the Confessor and St. Louis (A. H. Thomas and I. D. Thornley, *The Great Chronicle of London*, London, 1938, p. 166).

and Gwladys Duy, daughter of Llewelin ap Iorwoeth. This in turn led back to Rhodri Mawr who died in 878 and whose descent was traced, by medieval authorities, to Cadwalader the last British king. The Mortimer family itself utilized this claim to antiquity and the Wigmore Manuscript, dating from the late fourteenth century, includes a genealogy showing the family's descent from Gwladys Duy and thence from Brutus the Trojan.¹ That this Yorkist lineage was recognized by all genealogists is evidenced by its inclusion in *Wriothesley's Book*, a Tudor collection of armorials which also includes Henry VIII's descent from Cadwalader and must therefore be deemed impartial.² A few Edward IV genealogies do not show this descent or do not emphasize its relationship with the *British History*; but these are a minority.³ Several assume a knowledge of the *British History* and commence much later, though stressing the British origin of the Mortimer line. One roll begins its line *Britannia* with Roger Mortimer; the same manuscript has another genealogy with the Welsh line showing the marriage of Gwladys Duy and continuing to Edward IV "kyng of more brutteyn and of ffrance".⁴ Another roll commences its British line with Llewelin, Prince of North Wales "heres cadwaladri", and leads, via the Mortimer lineage, to Richard, Duke of York, heir to Britain, France, and Spain, and finally to Edward IV, indubitable king of those realms.⁵ This manuscript includes extracts from Gildas, Bede and Geoffrey of Monmouth and repeats the story of the angel's prophecy to Cadwalader—thus implying that Edward IV was the fulfiller of that prophecy. This notion is also implied in a genealogy which begins its British line with Iorwoeth, Prince of North Wales and "verus heres Cadwalladro qui vocatur Rubeus Draco", includes

¹ Mary E. Giffin, "Cadwalader, Arthur and Brutus in the Wigmore MS.", *Speculum*, xvi (1941), 109-20. This article has some factual inaccuracies but is useful for its summary of the contents of the manuscript.

² B[ritish] M[useum] Add. MS. 46,354, fols. 59-61.

³ The chief of these are as follows: College of Arms MSS., Box 3, no. 16; Box 21, no. 9; Box 21, no. 2 verso; N.23; B.M. Add. MS. 24,026; Stowe MSS. 72 and 73—the latter being an English version of the former.

⁴ College of Arms MS., Box 28, no. 2 verso, membranes 1 and 2. The second genealogy is drawn on the last few membranes of the manuscript.

⁵ College of Arms MS., Box 3, no. 9.

the prophecy to Cadwalader, and traces the British line through the Mortimers to Edward IV.¹ This same concept of Edward as the fulfiller of British destiny is even more strongly suggested in a genealogy which commences its British line with "Gladusduy filia lewellin et heredis Bruti", continues to Edward IV, and concludes with the angel's prophecy.² A longer genealogy is to be found in the Cottonian collection in a Latin digest of the *British History* which traces the descent of Edward IV, through the Trojans, from Adam.³ It is followed by an English summary illustrated with coloured arms—which depicts Edward with the triple crown of Britain, France and Spain upon his head.⁴ Similar in scope is a roll chronicle showing the descent of Richard, Duke of York, "Ryght eyre of Brute fraunce and spayne", and Edward IV from Camber, son of Brutus. This manuscript also attacks the Lancastrian dynasty, showing Richard II was "vn-rightwisly deposed", that Henry IV was a usurper, and that Henry V and Henry VI were kings but not by right.⁵ Another roll pedigree, tracing Edward IV's descent from Adam, also makes clear the King's British origin through the marriage of Ralph de Mortimer and Gwladys Duy "filia et heres" of Llewellyn the lineal descendant of Cadwalader.⁶

However, the most striking document relating to Edward's British descent is an elaborate roll chronicle in which each name in the British line, commencing with Caduanus, is accompanied by the rubrics *Brutus*, *Rubuis* and *Draco*. The English line, stemming from the Saxon kings is significantly accompanied by the rubrics *Albus* and *Draco*. The roll ends with the rivalry between Henry VI who, as the culmination of the English line, is the *Albus Draco*, and Edward IV. who concludes the story as the triumphant British *Rubius Draco*. The moral is stressed by a conclusion summarizing the *British History*. With the coming

¹ College of Arms MS., Box 21, no. 2 verso.

² College of Arms MS., Box 28, no. 7.

³ B.M. Cotton. Vespasian, E. VIII, fols. 67a-69a.

⁴ Ibid. fols. 69b-72a. A rough copy of this manuscript is in B.M. Harleian MS. 6148, fols. 120a-121a, which claims to be drawn "ex vetusto libro manuscripto". This Harleian MS. also has a British genealogy for Edward IV at fols. 123b-126a.

⁵ College of Arms MS., Box 28, no. 2 recto.

⁶ College of Arms MS., Box 28, no. 10.

of Brutus the land had been called the *Rede Dragon* or else *Brutane*. In the time of Cadwalader the British were expelled for their sins and, according to an angelic prophecy, would not again inherit the land till the Saxon invaders had sinned in the same way. The name of the returning conqueror would be *Rubius Draco* and he would be the true heir to England, Scotland and Wales since the three kingdoms had originally been one.¹ This is the clearest possible exposition of the idea that Edward IV was the returning hero of the Trojan line ; he was the British messiah ; he was the Red Dragon.

If the stories promulgated about the Tudor interest in the *British History* were entirely true one would expect to find it expressed in a paper antiquity similar to that of Edward IV, but the reign of Henry VII seems to have produced few examples of this genre. The most impressive statement of Henry's British origin is in Bernardus Andreas' *Historia* which begins with an account of the King's royal descent, from Cadwalader on his father's side, and from John of Gaunt on his mother's, and states that the ancient prophecy to Cadwalader has been fulfilled in the person of Henry VII.² This statement, by virtually the official historian of the reign, suggests an interest in such matters on the part of the King ; and this view seems to be corroborated by the account, in Powel's edition of the *Historie of Cambria* by Humphrey Lhoyd, of a commission appointed by Henry VII to examine the pedigree of Owen Tudor—the return of the commission being extant at the time of publication (1584).³ A manuscript

¹ B.M. Add. MS. 18,268. A.

² *Historia Regis Henrici Septimi*, ed. James Gairdner in *Memorials of King Henry VII* (London, 1858), pp. 9-11.

³ " There was a commission at this time (c. 1490) directed from king Henrie the seaventh, to the Abbot of Lhan Egwest, Doctor Owen Poole, chanon of Hereford, and Iohn King, harold, to make inquisition concerning the parentage of the said Owen, who comming to Wales, trauelled in that matter, and used the helps of Sir Iohn Leyaf, Guttyn Owen Bardh, Gruffyth ap Lhewelyn ap Euan Vachan, and others in the search of the Brytish or Welsh bookes of petigrees out of the which they drew his perfect genealogie from the ancient kings of Brytaine and the Princes of Wales, and so returned their commission : which returne is extant at this date to be seene " (Humphrey Lhoyd, *The Historie of Cambria*, ed. David Powel, 1584, p. 391). The 1697 and 1812 editions of this work include garbled selections from an unspecified source—probably the manuscript cited below.

in the Royal collection, dating from the reign of Edward VI, sets forth Henry VII's descent, by various lines, from the Welsh princes and British kings and itself claims to agree with the best chronicles in Wales : ¹ " and was at the true examinacion off the same the abbatt of Llynegwestill, maister doctour Even Pole, syr Johan Lyaff, prist, Guttyn Owen, Robert ap Hoell ap Thomas, Johan Kyng, Madoc ap Llywelyn ap Hoell and Gruffith ap Llywelyn Vichan, which hathe founde and proved this good and true lynaige." This list, but for the inclusion of two extra names, is the same as in Powel and clearly refers to the same examination ; while the fact that Owen Pole, Canon of Hereford, died in 1509 and that Guttyn Owen was one of the most famous Welsh bards of the late fifteenth century, ² indicates that the manuscript is a copy of a document dating from the reign of Henry VII. It belonged to Humphrey Lhoyd, whose name appears on the first folio. Lhoyd's manuscript history of Wales, completed in 1559, was the basis for Powel's edition but ends at the year 1294, ³ so that the later chapter, in the first printed edition, must have been written by Powel who made considerable use of the manuscripts collected by Lhoyd and altered the originals to suit his own purposes ⁴ Thus it seems likely that the Royal manuscript is the very document referred to by Powel as being extant in 1584 and that, since it contains nothing showing it to have been the work of a royally-appointed commission, Powel was merely dressing up the evidence to render it more impressive.

There is little other evidence in Henry VII's reign of an interest in the British pedigree ; though there is one illuminated genealogy tracing Henry's descent both from John of Gaunt and from the British kings ; while a " *Genealogia domini henrici*

¹ B.M. Royal MS., 18. A. lxxv, fol. 2a.

² The manuscript frequently cites " gytyn owen is boke " as the authority for its information. For a fully annotated edition of Guttyn's poetry see E. Bachellery, *L'Oeuvre Poétique de Gutun Owain* (Paris, 1950), which includes a poem to the Abbot of Llan Egwestl (pp. 116-23), another of the Henrician genealogists.

³ Cotton. Caligula A. vi, *Cronica Walliae a Rege Cadwalader ad annum 1294 Humphredo Floyd (sic) authore* (fol. 1) ; " At London 17 Julij 1559. By Humfrey Lloyd " (fol. 221).

⁴ See Edward Owen, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Relating to Wales in the British Museum* (London, 1900), nos. 263 and 21.

Septimi regis anglorum a Cadwaladro" is included in the pedigree of English kings accompanying a Latin chronicle preserved amongst the Harleian Manuscripts.¹ Evidence suggesting a lack of any keen interest in the Tudor British descent is offered by a roll pedigree of Prince Arthur, which shows Henry deriving from John of Gaunt through his mother and from Katharine, wife of Henry V, through his father. Owen Tudor is not mentioned. Moreover, this Tudor pedigree shows the Welsh line, deriving from Cadwalader, leading through the Mortimers to Edward IV; Prince Arthur is here regarded as heir to the British heritage—but through his mother, Elizabeth of York, not through his father, Henry Tudor.²

Henry VIII seems to have been even less concerned than his father to proclaim his British descent. None of the roll pedigrees examined for this study shows his British origin, although some rough contemporary notes by Thomas Gardiner, "a monk of westminster", show Henry's descent from Cadwalader both through his father's line and, via the Mortimers, through his mother.³ One roll, commencing with Adam, does include the British kings but does not connect them with the later English line culminating in Henry VIII;⁴ another commences with Edward I;⁵ while a third begins with the Saxon Egbert and Rollo, the Norman.⁶ The most pretentious of these genealogies also begins with Egbert and includes the Norman and Angevin lines. It was intended, by its compiler, not as a repetition of

¹ B.M. King's MS. 395; Harleian 838, fols. 12b-49b. *Wriothesley's Book* (Add. MS. 46,354) fols. 105-6, gives a descent for Henry VII traced through Edmund and Owen Tudor, Idwall and thus to Cadwalader. But this manuscript also contains a Brutus descent for Richard, Duke of York (see above p. 22). Another roll pedigree which does not link Henry VII with the British kings is College of Arms MS., Box 28, no. 19. This indicates Henry Tudor's Welsh ancestry but only takes this back to 1377 and does not show a connection with the British line. In connection with the subject of roll pedigrees, it is interesting to note the payment of 3s. 4d., recorded in John Heron's Chamber Accounts under 4 May 1498, to "one that wrete a cōpye of a rolle of diuerse kinges". See the BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, xliii, no. 1 (1960), 33.

² College of Arms MS., Box 2, no. 13. A.

³ Cotton. Julius F. ix, fols. 24a and b.

⁴ College of Arms MS., Box 28, no. 33.

⁵ College of Arms MS., Box 43, no. 9.

⁶ B. M. Lansdowne Roll 5.

unproven myths and medieval accretions but as an attempt at serious analysis of the political history bearing upon the English royal house.¹ It is not too much to see in this carefully-written document a new critical attitude to history. The struggle over the *British History* that flared up in the middle of the sixteenth century was a battle between backward-looking antiquarians. As Kendrick has pointed out, it is probable that educated opinion at court would have supported opponents of the *British History* such as Lily and Lanquet rather than a "passionately over-loyal antiquary like Leland".² Such educated opinion is probably reflected in the jettisoning of the *British History* in this genealogical roll.

The place where one would expect to find reference to the British descent of the Tudors, if this were an important element of their propaganda, is in pageant series—the popular expression of ideas current upon the royal visitor making a civic entry. The northern progress of 1486 was the occasion for the first pageant series of the Tudor era. Henry VII was new-come from the continent and a feeling that the original British dynasty had returned was in the air. This feeling was naturally at its strongest in Wales but in England similar ideas found expression in pageantry. At York Ebrancus, one of the most formidable British monarchs, greeted Henry as a lineal descendant of his own race. At Worcester it was intended to welcome the new king with the words quoted at the beginning of this essay, as the fulfiller of the prophecy made to Cadwalader. It is an explicit statement of Henry's British pedigree and shows that, in this early period, such ideas leapt to people's minds—though the proximity of Worcester to Wales should be noted as a possible influence. Nevertheless, subsequent pageants do not insist upon this motif. Never again was there a reference as specific as the projected speech at Worcester. In the London pageants for Prince Arthur's marriage in 1501, the pedigree emphasized was not the British but that from John of Gaunt who was the ancestor common to Arthur and Katharine of Aragon. In 1522 the John of Gaunt descent was again used as appropriate to both Henry VIII and Charles V

¹ B.M. Lansdowne Roll 6. This roll begins with a very forthright statement of its historical principles. See Appendix, below p. 74.

² Kendrick, *British Antiquity*, p. 42.

and was reinforced by a genealogical tree from Alphonso the Wise of Castile. The London pageants for Anne Boleyn's entry in 1533 did not show a Tudor genealogy but, following the prevailing taste for name parallels, included a pageant of the progeny of St. Anne accompanied by a speech praying that Queen Anne would be as fruitful as her namesake. Finally, the pageants for Edward VI's coronation entry in 1547 had no genealogies at all.¹ This evidence, taken in conjunction with that of the genealogical rolls, suggests an early interest in the British descent of the Tudors both on the part of the Court circle and of the king's subjects and that this interest declined throughout the reigns of the first two Tudor monarchs—a view which can now be corroborated by an examination of the use made of King Arthur during the same period.

Arthurianism has become the most publicized and most popular theme of the modern attitude towards Early Tudor propaganda. It is maintained that King Arthur, the central figure of the *British History*, became the central figure in a Tudor efflorescence of historical primitivism and in the pretensions of the new dynasty to an antiquity rivalling that of the continental monarchies. The foundation for this idea is the choice of Winchester as the birthplace for Henry VII's first son and the name *Arthur* bestowed upon the prince. Winchester was noted for its Arthurian connections and particularly, during the fifteenth century, for the round table preserved in the Great Hall.² Concerning the name *Arthur*, Hall subsequently wrote that : "Englishmen no more reioysed then outwarde nacions and foreyne prynces trymbled

¹ For the pageant series of 1501 see the very full contemporary account printed in Francis Grose and Thomas Astle, *The Antiquarian Repertory* (London, 1807-9), ii, 260 ff. For 1522 see Edward Hall, *Chronicles* (ed. London, 1809), pp. 638-40 and the references cited below p. 34. For 1533 see Hall, pp. 801-2; and the verses by Leland and Udall printed, from Royal MS. 18. A. lxiv, in F. J. Furnivall, *Ballads from Manuscripts* (London, 1868-72), i. 379-401. For 1547 see the full contemporary account printed in J. G. Nichols, *The Literary Remains of Edward VI* (Roxburghe Club, London, 1857), i, pp. ccii ff.

² *The Chronicle of Iohn Hardyng* (ed. London, 1812), p. 146. Dr. A. A. Barb, "The Round Table and the Holy Grail", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, xix. 1956, postulated a connection between the round table at Winchester and mediaeval representations of the wheel of fortune. There is some fragmentary evidence which tends to support this hypothesis. In 1236 there is recorded a

and quaked, so much was that name to all nations terrible and formidable.”¹ While Bacon, casting the eye of an historian over the event, wrote that Henry VII chose the name Arthur to honour the British race from which he himself derived; “according to the name of that ancient worthy King of the Britons, in whose acts there is truth enough to make him famous, besides that which is fabulous.”² The birth occasioned a burst of enthusiasm amongst the continental poets of the Court circle, who wrote as though it heralded the return of the Golden Age of peace—very much in the fashion of Virgil’s fourth Eclogue which was of such importance in Renaissance political poetry. The motif was new to England and Pietro Carmeliano made it the crowning point of his poem celebrating the end of civil strife in England.³ He tells of Henry VII’s return from exile, his success at Bosworth Field, the death of Richard III, “mors tyranni”, the marriage with Elizabeth, heiress to the House of York, and concludes with the fruit of the union—the birth of a prince to secure the future and make certain that England will never again fall into civil discord.⁴ A new age of peace is at hand and the

payment for a wheel of fortune to be painted in the Great Hall of Winchester. In 1239 there is a similar payment for a “Mappa Mundi in aula praedicta perpingi”. And in 1260 there is a further reference “in renovatione Picturae Aulae regis in castro”. The story is incomplete yet suggests that the round table at Winchester could well be the lineal descendant of the original *rota fortuna*. See Sir Edward Smirke, “On the Hall and Round Table at Winchester”, *Proceedings at the Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute: at Winchester, September 1845* (Winchester, 1846), pp. 54, 56, 73, 74, 77, citing Pipe Roll evidence. It should be noted, incidentally, that lineally there could be no connection between the Tudors and King Arthur whose line is shown, on all the roll pedigrees dealing with that period, as ending amidst the civil wars which had recalled him from the continent. However, this would not necessarily prevent use being made of Arthur in propaganda. Cf. the parallel situation of Charlemagne and the Hapsburgs. For this see Robert Folz, *Le Souvenir et la Légende de Charlemagne* (Paris, 1950), pp. 539-42.

¹ Hall, p. 428.

² *History of the Reign of King Henry VII*, ed. James Spedding in *The Works of Francis Bacon* (London, 1858), pp. 43-4.

³ *Suasoria Laetiae ad angliam pro sublatis bellis civilibus et Arthuro principe nato epistola* (B.M. Add. MS. 33,736).

⁴ *Ibid.* fol. 10:

“Nascitur ecce puer quo non generosior alter
Seu matrem queras seu magis ipse patrem
Nascitur ecce puer gemino de sanguine regum
Firma salus regni perpetuum quam decus.”

great King Arthur, buried for so many centuries, now returns as prophesied ;¹ though this prophecy, it should be observed, is not part of the original *British History*. Giovanni de' Giglis, papal collector in England, expressed his sentiments in the same way—after so many centuries the great days of King Arthur had returned ;² while Bernardus Andreas saw, beneath the form of the new prince, the image of the first Arthur.³ Yet not one of these poets made the crucial connection, as Bacon did, between the British descent of the Tudors and the naming of the prince. All seized upon the obvious name parallel and reduced it to just another literary device. Their expressions of joy, naturally evoked by the consolidation of the new dynasty, cannot be adduced as evidence for a continuous cult of King Arthur by the Early Tudors ; although the fact that such a group of Latinist poets should have been grouped about the Court and should have produced eulogistic literature, heralding a return of the Golden Age

¹ *Ibid.* " Nascitur ecce puer per quem Pax sancta resurgit
Ciuilis que cadit tempus in omne furor.
Arthurus redijt per saecula tanta sepultus
Qui regum mundi prima Corona fuit,
Ille licet corpus terris et membra dedisset
Vivebat toto semper in orbe tamen.
Arthurum quisquis praedixerat esse secundo
Venturum. uates maximus ille fuit ".

² Harleian MS. 336, fols. 83b-84a :

" Hic est quem veteres uidere uates
Venturum angligenis pium patronum
Arturus patrie pater decusque
Promissus populis uidendus atque
Post tot secula restitutus olim
Henrici soboles bonj parentis
Regis ".

In another epigram on Prince Arthur's birth Giovanni de' Giglis writes :

" Quicumque Arturum vates predixerat olim
Venturum reducem maximus ille fuit
Consilijs superum iamiam cognoscere fas est
Affuit en dictis prestitit ipse fidem
Arturi rediere bonj non nomina tantum
Credite, Sed redeunt inclita facta uiri " (fol. 83a).

³ Gairdner, *Memorials*, p. 44 :

" Haec est illa dies qua Arturi saecula magni
Effigiem pueri sub imagine cernere claram
Nostra queant."

with the new dynasty, is itself of importance since it suggests a situation similar to that existing in several of the Italian city states where the tyrants employed such literary means to buttress their own dubious claims to authority.¹

Nevertheless, the combination of Winchester and the name *Arthur* in 1486 must have been prompted by their significance in the *British History* and—sufficient evidence of Henry VII's desire, early in his reign, to publicize the royal sanctions of his ancient pedigree. This might well have been the foundation of a cult of King Arthur but there was little attempt to pursue this theme. It has been suggested that the main events of Prince Arthur's life were celebrated in verse and pageantry reflecting the glory of his namesake.² Yet this was not the case. It is true that in the pageant series at Coventry in 1498, the Prince was greeted by a King Arthur who hailed him as one chosen by the Court Eternal, "... to be egall ons to me in myght To sprede our name, Arthur, and actes to auauunce". But there was no allusion here to the British descent of the Tudors. The point of the speech was merely a superficial name parallel—a feature of the fifteenth century Coventry pageants.³ The most important festivity in Prince Arthur's short life was his marriage with Katharine of Aragon in 1501. The successful negotiation of this match was a triumph of Early Tudor diplomacy and the event

¹ Typical examples of this genre are the eulogistic verses written for the Medici of Florence, such as Bartholomaeus Fontius' verses celebrating the return of the Golden Age under Lorenzo de' Medici (*Carmina*, Leipzig, 1932, p. 20); and Ugolino Verino's eulogy on the death of Cosimo in 1464 (*Flametta*, ed. Lucianus Mencaraglia, Olschki, Florence, 1940, pp. 107-8).

² Kendrick, *British Antiquity*, p. 36. And see Millican, *Spenser and the Table Round*, pp. 16-24.

³ *Coventry Leet Book*, ed. Mary Dormer Harris (London, 1907-13), ii. 589-590. In 1456 Queen Margaret was greeted by a King Arthur at Coventry (*ibid.* i. 290-1). On both occasions the King Arthur was shown as one of the Nine Worthies, though in 1456 all nine spoke verses and in 1498 only Arthur did so. In the pageant series welcoming Queen Margaret, name parallels were in evidence. There was a St. Margaret who said that she would show the Queen kindness "seth we be both of one name": and there had also been a pageant of St. Edward the Confessor who said that he would pray for the Queen's son Prince Edward, his "gostly chylde". St. Edward likewise appeared in the pageants for Prince Edward in 1474 and welcomed the visitor as one directly descended from him (*ibid.* i. 292).

was celebrated at Court by the most lavish entertainments of the reign and, in the City of London, by the most elaborate pageant series yet devised in England. The wedding celebrations of the prince whose name was supposedly regarded as a symbol of the great British heritage would be the most likely occasion for allusion to the *British History* and one would be justified in looking here for evidence of a Tudor cult of King Arthur. Indeed, it has been stated that these pageants comprised a "compliment to the Welsh ancestry of the reigning house".¹ The truth is that these pageants contain only one allusion to King Arthur and even that is related to the main astrological and astronomical theme based upon the name parallel *Arthur* and the star *Arcturus*; while the Welsh ancestry of the Tudors is not even mentioned.² There

¹ E. A. Greenlaw, *Studies in Spenser's Historical Allegory* (Baltimore, 1932), p. 180.

² Greenlaw, pp. 173-80, has a totally misconceived analysis of this pageant series. He suggests that the source for these pageants may have been the prose romance *Arthur of Little Brytayne* in the translation of Lord Berners and, in particular, cites a passage describing a cosmic mechanism (for this passage see Berners' trans. ed. Utterson (London, 1814), p. 139). Greenlaw thought that, although some of the astrological elements in the pageants may have been suggested by the descent of Katharine of Aragon from the celebrated astronomer king, Alphonso the Wise, they had a less "conventional" significance and were suggested by the mechanisms in the romance and were employed by the pageant devisers in compliment to the Welsh ancestry of the Tudors. This superficial literary attribution fails to take into consideration the heavy parallelism exploited in these pageants between the names Arthur and Arcturus—the latter fraught with the deepest cosmological significance. Nor does it consider the literary relationship between this pageant series and the passages on *Arcturus* in Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophie*. Finally, it must indeed have been an indirect tribute to Tudor descent that could take its root in Arthur of Little Brytayne who had no relationship with the famous King Arthur but was, as the romance specially states in its opening chapter, a descendant of Sir Lancelot. In connection with the Arthur/Arcturus parallel, it is worth noting the following interesting passage in Bernardus Andreas' *Vita Henrici VII* relating to the name chosen for the king's first-born son:

"Post tam prosperum sidus Arturi sterili tunc novellorum principum mundo collatum omnes Erebi Furiae longe profligatae sunt. Orta enim Arcturi stella, quae secundum genetliacos xij. calend. Octobris oritur, Arturus quoque princeps natus est" (Gairdner, *Memorials*, p. 41).

In other words the Prince was born when Arcturus was in the ascendant. The name *Arcturus* was, at that time, ambiguous and might refer either to the star of that name or to the constellation Ursa Major. Andreas strongly implies that the Prince was named in accordance with the position of the heavens at his nativity.

was nothing whatever relating to the *British History* or King Arthur in the entertainments at Court in 1501 ; while with the death of Prince Arthur whatever Arthurianism there had been at the Tudor Court vanished and King Arthur does not again appear in English festivals till nearly twenty years later.¹

In July 1520 the figure of King Arthur holding a round table appeared as a statue over the vestibule of a temporary theatre built by Henry VIII at Calais for the entertainment of the Emperor Charles V ; it was one of several similar, though not Arthurian, figures. There was no attempt to give this Arthur any Tudor significance, the poem inscribed beneath the statue being a general exhortation to the princes to emulate Arthur's chivalric deeds.² This Anglo-Imperial meeting followed immediately after the

Unfortunately the astronomical data which could establish this point is not available. The approximate time only is given for the nativity—about one o'clock in the morning of 20 September 1486 (B.M. Add. MS. 6113, fol. 76a). At this time, the date being Julian, Ursa Major (or at least the pointers) would have been about three hours past lower culmination and would have been seen fairly low in the north-eastern sky, while Arcturus would have been below the horizon. None of this is astrologically very exciting. But Andreas' suggestion, while in no way invalidating the British significance of the name *Arthur*, is of importance when considering the pageant series of November 1501.

¹ William Drummond, *The History of Scotland* (London, 1655), p. 133, says that King Arthur and his knights were brought into the lists in the celebrations at the marriage of Princess Margaret to James IV of Scotland in 1503. Millican, p. 21, cites this incident as an important Arthurian entertainment, implying that it had some Tudor connotation. But, as with most of Millican's evidence, the reference has been divorced from its context. The tournament, as described by Drummond, was of the fantastic Burgundian variety favoured by James IV. King Arthur, with his knights of the Round Table, was one element in a romantic display featuring the king himself as the "Savage Knight". There is surely no allusion here, in Drummond, to any mythical descent—Tudor, Stuart or otherwise. In any case, it has occurred to me that Drummond may be confusing the wedding tournament with the *Emprinse du Chevalier Sauvage à la Dame noire* organized by James in 1507 when the king certainly did appear as the Savage Knight. See Marc Vulson, Sieur de la Colombière, *La Science Héroïque* (Paris, 1644), chap. 43.

Francis Wormald, "The Solemn Entry of Mary Tudor to Montreuil-sur-mer in 1514", *Essays presented to Sir Hilary Jenkinson* (London, 1957), p. 474, prints a song, written in honour of the Anglo-French marriage of 1514, which has an interesting use of King Arthur signifying England to parallel Charlemagne for France.

² See my article "Le Camp du drapeau d'or et les entrevues d'Henri VIII et de Charles Quint", in *Fêtes et Cérémonies au Temps de Charles Quint*, ed. Jean Jacquot (Paris, 1960), pp. 113-34.

Anglo-French interview at the Field of Cloth of Gold where, contrary to general belief, there was no Arthurian symbolism whatever.¹ The last Early Tudor appearance of King Arthur was in one of the pageants presented for the entry of Charles V into London in 1522. The British king was represented, seated at the round table, attended by subject kings. A child greeted the Emperor with a speech comparing him in "noblenes to the seyd Arthur";² the city of Rome praised its Cato, Carthage sang of Hannibal, David had been the glory of the Jewish race, Alexander of the Greeks, and Arthur of the Britons; so the Emperor Charles was the glory of his race and it was prayed that God would grant him victory and that peace would reign throughout his dominions.³ This use of Arthur was intended as a compliment to the Emperor; there is no reference to the Tudor dynasty; clearly, therefore, it cannot be regarded as evidence of a Tudor cult of King Arthur.

King Arthur does not appear in any other pageants in the Early Tudor period, nor did he ever occupy that place in Court entertainments which has been assigned to him by modern historians.⁴ He does, it is true, figure in the battle over the *British*

¹ An Arthur appeared in an English masque of the Nine Worthies (Hall, p. 619) but, as such, was a pageant commonplace and without significance in the present discussion. Millican, pp. 23-4, says that the Arthur statue appeared both at the Field and at Calais; but this is due to his confusion of the sources—there was only one statue.

² Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 298, no. 8: printed in Robert Withington, *English Pageantry: An Historical Outline* (Cambridge, Mass., 1918), i, 177. The kings seated about the round table are named as follows: "that is to say on the ryght hande, Skater Kynge off Scotlande, Aloth Kynge of Denmarke, Walganus Kynge of Gutlande, Guyloin Kynge off Northwalys, Achilles Kynge off Iselande, Cander yerle of Cornwall and Eueraldus yerle of Sarylbury. And wpon the lefte hande of Kynge Arthur sate fyrste Madad Kynge of Irelande, Cadwar Kynge of Southwalys, Cador Kyng of litill brytyn, Andher Kynge off Orkeney, Gunwado Kynge off Norway, Morwidus yerle off glocester and Cutsall yerle of Chester." These subject kingdoms are approximately those represented in the *British History*.

³ Hall, p. 639. Cf. the English translation of the original Latin verses by William Lily, printed by Richard Pynson in 1522 and reprinted by C. R. Baskervill, "William Lily's Verse for the Entry of Charles Vinto London", *Huntington Library Bulletin*, vol. ix (1936). For the verse concerning Arthur see Baskervill, p. 12.

⁴ For example, Denys Hay, *Polydore Vergil* (Oxford, 1952), pp. 157-8. Professor Hay cites (p. 157, n. 2), to strengthen his argument for Tudor Arthurianism,

History that was waged in the middle and latter part of the sixteenth century by ardent antiquarians, notably Leland, whose works, however, "do not reflect the most intelligent antiquarian opinion of the day".¹ A person such as John Rastell, intimately connected with Court festivals and pageantry, was highly critical of the *British History* and proclaimed his views in the *Pastyme of People*, which first appeared in 1529. He pointed out that neither Bede nor other contemporaries mentioned Arthur and he continually refers to the British king's deeds with a prefix such as "as Galfridus wrytyth," as though distrusting that authority. He expressed open disbelief in Arthur's seal, preserved at Westminster, and concluded that he would neither deny nor affirm the story of Arthur but would "let euery man be at his lyberte to beleue ther in what he lyst".² Finally, as has often been pointed out, Polydore Vergil, whose work precipitated the antiquarian turmoil, was allowed to publish and republish his views upon King Arthur and the *British History* without evoking any angry response from King Henry VIII who, as ever, showed scant interest in these matters.

Just as Arthur is the key figure in the *British History*, so the red dragon is the key symbol. Its fundamental source, as for the vast Arthurian edifice erected by Geoffrey of Monmouth and his followers, is the *Historia Brittonum* of Nennius. This ninth-century compilation tells of the vision, conjured up by Merlin, of two rival dragons symbolizing the struggle between Saxons. Caxton's *King Arthur* printed in 1485—as though this were the first bibliographical event of Henry VII's reign. In fact the *History of Arthur* was ready for the press by 31 July 1485 (W. J. B. Crotch, *The Prologues & Epilogues of William Caxton*, E.E.T.S., 1928, intro., p. cxx). Moreover, the volume on King Arthur was but one of a series of chivalric works, printed by Caxton, spanning the reigns of Edward IV, Richard III and Henry VII: *The Recuyell of the Histories of Troye* (1475-6); *The Historie of Jason* (1477); *Godefroy of Bologne* (1481); *The Order of Chyualry* (1484?—addressed to Richard III); *Kyng Arthur* (1485); *Charles the Grete* (Dec. 1485); *The Fayttes of Armes* (1489).

¹ See Kendrick, pp. 40-4, for evidence on this point.

² John Rastell, *The Pastyme of People* (ed. London, 1811), pp. 106-8. Indeed, in the *Prologue* to his work, Rastell discusses the whole subject of the authenticity of the *British History*. With his acute legal mind he pulls the whole absurd fabric to pieces within a couple of pages; although he concludes that, since these stories may yet serve as valuable exemplars both of good and evil, he will not excise them from his history.

and Britons and of the ultimate triumph of the latter. This dragon prophecy, with its Galfridian embellishments, became one of the best-known historical concepts of the middle ages.¹ It was this theme that was employed in the *Rubius Draco* genealogy of Edward IV, and it was this theme that the Tudors employed to signify their own British descent.

The appearance of the red dragon symbol at the end of the fifteenth century is usually interpreted as an allusion to the Tudor Welsh descent which was traced to Cadwalader, the last British king, and the creature is customarily referred to as the *Red Dragon of Cadwalader* or the *Welsh Dragon*. Yet the compilers of books of arms in the fifteenth century never assigned the badge to Cadwalader whose arms were invariably given as azure, a cross patté fitché or.² The first time a dragon is connected with Cadwalader seems to be in a sixteenth-century book of banners and badges where *Le Roy Cadwalader* is represented by his customary arms supported by a dragon, or and gules, with wings expanded.³ This is an isolated instance and probably reflects the identification of Cadwalader, the prophecy made to him, and the original dragon prophecy, that has become increasingly popular as the themes have become remote and confused. The weight of armorial evidence is against a Cadwalader dragon. Further negative evidence is afforded by contemporary chroniclers who write of the royal beast as the *Red Dragon Dreadful*⁴ but never connect it with the name *Cadwalader*. The accounts of Henry VII's presentation of his battle standards at St. Paul's in 1485 do not refer to his dragon standard as *of Cadwalader*; neither does Hall in his later version of the story.⁵ Finally, the *Empcions* for Henry VII's coronation, in addition to providing for red dragon embroidery,

¹ F. Lot, *Nennius et l'Historia Brittonum* (Paris, 1934) pp. 181-2.

² Harleian MS. 6163, fol. 66, printed in *Two Tudor Books of Arms* (De Walden Library, 1904), p. 229; College of Arms MS. I. 2, printed in *Banners, Standards and Badges* (De Walden Library, 1904), p. 33; Harleian MS. 521, fol. 5b; Harleian MS. 1408, fol. 2; B.M. Add. MS. 46,354, fol. 108; Stowe MS. 669, fol. 27.

³ *Banners*, p. 33.

⁴ In particular see the account, written by a herald, of the marriage pageants of November 1501, cited above p. 28.

⁵ A. H. Thomas and I. D. Thornley, *The Great Chronicle of London* (London, 1938), pp. 238-9; Hall, p. 423.

also provide for a "Trappour of Cad Walladeres armes"¹—implying that the two were habitually thought of as separate items. Moreover, doubt is cast, not only on the Cadwalader story but also upon the association of the dragon with Wales, by the history of the ensign which extends from the Romans, through the Saxons, to the royal house of England—the banner being employed by Richard I, John, Henry III and Edward III. There is no reason, therefore, to suppose that Wales enjoyed a monopoly of dragons or, indeed, that the Welsh princes made much use of the symbol prior to the fifteenth century.²

Yet all this does not invalidate the importance attached to the dragon prophecy in armorial and symbolic propaganda after the *Historia Regum Britanniae*. The red dragon became an acknowledged symbol of the *British History* and the return of British dominion over the Saxons. It was used as such in the genealogy of Edward IV, already discussed, which showed the king both as *Rubius Draco* and as the fulfiller of the prophecy made to Cadwalader—confusion already being apparent between the two prophecies. A similar concurrence of a British descent and the use of a dragon badge is encountered in the career of Owen Glendower who claimed descent from Camber, son of Brutus.³ Owen employed a dragon standard on the field of battle,⁴ while his Great Seal showed him mounted, both he and his horse being crested with a winged dragon or wyvern.⁵ These were probably allusions to his British descent but seem based, not on the general British dragon, but upon more specific usages. In Geoffrey's *Historia*, Utherpendragon was encouraged, after the appearance of a dragon-like star favourably interpreted by Merlin, to have two golden dragon ensigns made, one for the church at Winchester, the other to be carried into battle.⁶ Uthers' son,

¹ Leopold Wickham Legg, *English Coronation Records* (London, 1901), p. 210.

² See, for a thorough study of the English use of the dragon ensign, J. S. P. Tatlock, "The Dragons of Wessex and Wales", *Speculum*, viii (1933), 223-35.

³ Adam of Usk, *Chronicon*, ed. E. M. Thompson (2nd edn. London, 1904), p. 72 and pp. 239-40.

⁴ *Ibid* p. 71 and pp. 238-9.

⁵ Anthony R. Wagner, *Historic Heraldry of Britain*, (Oxford, 1939), no. 45, plate X.

⁶ *Historia Regum Britanniae*, VIII, 14 and 17. See the edition by Acton Griscom and Robert Ellis Jones, *The Historia Regum Britanniae of Geoffrey of*

Arthur, is subsequently reported to have used a *vexillum aureus draco* in his Roman campaign, and he is also described as having worn a helmet *simulacro draconis*.¹ These standards and crests were probably the prototypes for Owen Glendower's seal and battle ensign and have nothing to do with Cadwalader and little to do with the dragon prophecy in its original form.

Jasper Tudor also made use of the dragon badge² and it has been suggested that he was influenced by the fact that Owen Glendower was cousin to his father, Owen Tudor.³ But this is a unilinear approach to the history of the symbol. Jasper, like Glendower, claimed a British descent; he was also a potential Welsh saviour and was hailed as the fulfiller of Merlin's prophecy who would gain the "victory of the red dragon over the dishonoured white".⁴ Jasper's dragon derived, not directly from Glendower's, but from a common source.

There is no doubt that Henry VII made much of this dragon symbol from the very beginning of his reign. The red dragon was one of the standards presented at St. Paul's after the victory at Bosworth; it figured amongst the decorations for horse trappers at the coronation;⁵ and during those coronation celebrations the king created a new pursuivant named *Rougedragon*.⁶ This

Monmouth (London, 1929). In Harleian MS. 2169, fol. 4b (printed in *Two Tudor Books of Arms*, p. 5), the arms assigned to Utherpendragon are Argent a wyvern vert armed gules.

¹ *H.R.B.* x. 6 and ix. 4. An important extension of these ideas is in the influential poem by Wace, *Le Roman de Brut*, ed. Ivor Arnold (Paris, 1938, 1940), ii. 489, ll. 9283-8, where an account is given of Arthur's crest:

" Helme ot en sun chief cler luisant,
D'or fu tut li nasels devant
Et d'or li cercles environ;
Desus ot purtrait un dragun;
El helme ot mainte pierre clere,
Il ot esté Uther sun pere."

² Walter de Gray Birch, *British Museum: Catalogue of Seals* (London, 1887-1900), ii, no. 6485. But Jasper's seals as Earl of Pembroke do not include a dragon (*ibid.* nos. 6483-4). ³ Tatlock, *Speculum*, viii. 232.

⁴ Robin Ddu's ode on Owen Tudor; cited in H. T. Evans, *Wales and the Wars of the Roses*, p. 8.

⁵ Wickham Legg, *English Coronation Records*, pp. 203, 210.

⁶ See my article, "The Foundation of the Tudor Dynasty: the Coronation and Marriage of Henry VII", *The Guildhall Miscellany*, ii (1), September 1960, p. 7.

proliferation of red dragons, emphasized by the earlier identification of Edward IV with the same symbol, must be regarded as an expression of Henry's British descent as opposed to his more particular Cadwalader or Welsh descents. It is thus in a similar tradition to the dragons of Owen Glendower and Jasper Tudor but not derived from them.¹

The later history of the dragon shows little variation. It is rarely the theme of literature, music, or pageant speech. It was employed as an heraldic supporter by all the Tudors and continually appears as a royal beast—its fierce aspect lending itself to this form of decoration.² As a moulded figure it predominated in the pageant decorations for 1501 and probably in later series. Similarly moulded it appears in pictures of Tudor pavilions³ and temporary palaces such as that for the Field of Cloth of Gold, now at Hampton Court. It is the outstanding beast amongst those on the roof bosses at St. George's Chapel, Windsor, and is also to be found amongst the Hampton Court beasts. Like other royal badges it is to be seen on plate decoration, several examples occurring in the inventory of Henry VIII's gold plate,⁴ though here it is again in the guise of an armorial supporter. In other words it became a Tudor commonplace as did the union rose, the other symbol brought into prominence by Henry VII. But whereas the rose became an important artistic, literary and even

¹ An alternative theory for the origin of the Tudor dragon was proposed by A. C. Fox-Davies, "Was the Red Dragon Welsh after all?", *The Genealogical Magazine*, vi, October 1902, pp. 235-43. This suggests that the dragon was an allusion by Henry VII to his descent from the early Lancastrian earls, Thomas and Henry, sons of Edmund Crouchback, both of whom employed dragons or wyverns on their seals. But Henry seems never to have stressed this very tenuous connection which depends almost entirely upon a female descent. Nor was there a continuous Lancastrian tradition for this badge. This usage was altogether too remote to have been the source for the Tudor dragon. Incidentally, if one wished to draw a fanciful connection between the British descent and the sigillographical dragon, there is evidence that the Mortimers, who could claim descent from Brutus, used such a creature on their seals (Birch, iii, nos. 11955, 11957, 11959). But one could make too much of this.

² H. Stanford London, *Royal Beasts* (The Heraldry Society, 1956), chap. x.

³ Cotton. MS. Augustus III, no. 18.

⁴ *The Antient Kalendars and Inventories of the Treasury of His Majesty's Exchequer*, ed. Sir F. Palgrave (London, 1836), ii. 281, nos. 25, 26; p. 287, no. 4; p. 288, no. 7.

musical theme and never lost its original significance as symbol of the Lancaster-York union, the dragon became absorbed into the menagerie of Royal Beasts and lost its original British import. The evidence for this conclusion is necessarily entirely negative—the dragon's relationship to the *British History* scarcely ever being mentioned even on an occasion such as the presentation of the red dragon standard at St. Paul's in 1485. This is described by several chroniclers or copyists but not one mentions that the standard represented the Tudor British descent. The red dragon became one of the best-known of all the heraldic beasts ; but it symbolized the Tudor dynasty rather than the Tudor descent.

Thus the evidence examined does not substantiate the theory that there was a cult of the *British History* encouraged by the Early Tudors ; although it would be an exaggeration to claim that such a view contains no truth at all. Prior to the Tudor dynasty, notably under Edward IV, there had been sporadic attempts to develop some sort of paper antiquity to lend dignity to the royal house—just as in Wales there had been, during the fifteenth century, several attempts to erect some powerful figure into a British messiah. With Henry VII these ideas acquired new potency, partly because his British ancestry was more obvious than that of his predecessor and partly because he was successful in his attempt to gain the throne of England—this success being sufficient to generate a burst of enthusiasm for which the most obvious field of imagery was the *British History*. As a consequence the first years of his reign witnessed many literary, pageant, and political expressions of these ideas. But after this first efflorescence there followed a marked decline in every aspect of the *British History* theme. The Trojan descent, the prophecy to Cadwalader, and Arthurianism were not abandoned ; they were simply no longer emphasized. There was nothing in the latter part of Henry VII's reign to equal the early use of these ideas, and by Henry VIII's reign the material had been replaced by other, more congenial, themes—notably that of the union of York and Lancaster and that of Henry as a great warrior prince. So that the Early Tudor use of the *British History* should be regarded not as a continuous and expanding cult but, less dramatically, as an early efflorescence and subsequent decline.

APPENDIX

GENEALOGIES OF THE KINGS OF ENGLAND:
HENRY VI TO HENRY VIII¹*Henry VI*

1. B.M. Add. 18,002. Roll chronicle and genealogy of the kings of England. Noah to Henry VI. Line of British kings including Lucius, Utherpendragon and Arthur, from Loctrinus son of Brutus, ends with Careticus. Line of the Welsh princes, from Camber son of Brutus, through Cadwallo and Cadwalader, ends with Resus and David, son of Gruffinus, shown as about the time of Edward II. The kings of England are derived from the Norman and Saxon lines linked through the marriage of Henry I with Matilda, the English heiress. The Norman line is traced back to Rollo. The Saxon line is traced back through the Heptarchy and, via Woden, ultimately to Japhet.
2. B.M. Add. 21,058. Roll pedigree of the kings of England. Constans to Henry VI. Left hand column of the Popes and right hand column of the Emperors down to 1453. Centre column of the British kings with biographical notices. The line from Loctrinus ends with Careticus; that from Camber ends with Resus and David. The English kings derive, through the Heptarchy, from Woden who is shown as a contemporary of King Arthur.
3. B.M. Add. 29,504. Conventional roll pedigree of the English kings, with biographical notices. *Adelstan primus dux de Saxonibus* to Henry VI. No *British History* is included.
4. B.M. Add. 31,950. Roll pedigree of the kings of England. Adam to Henry VI—although the beginning of the roll suggests that the genealogy is to be continued to Edward IV. The British line ends with Cadwalader who, it is said, went to Rome and became a monk on the advice of an angel. But there is no mention of the British prophecy and the roll begins afresh with the Heptarchy. Kings of England are shown in lines of descent from Egbert and from Rollo and the Norman dukes.
5. B.M. Egerton 1076, fols. 4b-16. Eighteenth-century copy of a Latin pedigree of the English kings with short biographical notices. Begins with a peremptory summary of the *British History* which states that in the year 449 the Saxons defeated the British and divided the land into seven kingdoms. The genealogy then begins with the Heptarchy. The kings of England derive from the Saxons and from Rollo the Norman.
6. B.M. Cotton. Julius E. IV, fols. 2-9. Pictures and arms of the English Kings with verses, by Lydgate, illustrative of their reigns. William the Conqueror to Henry VI.
7. B.M. Harleian 4205, fols. 1-8. Pictures and arms of the kings of England, each a full page, accompanied by verses illustrative of the reign. William the Conqueror to Henry VI. An inferior version of No. 6.
8. B.M. Harleian 7353. Ten illuminated representations of the rivalry between Edward IV and Henry VI. Followed by a realistic genealogical tree with figures sitting in little seed pods. Begins with two plants, one from the

¹ I would like to express my gratitude to Mr. R. P. Graham-Vivian, Windsor Herald, who has made accessible to me the valuable series of royal genealogies preserved at the College of Arms.

body of Peter, King of Castile and Leon, the other from Henry III. Trees unite with marriage of Isabella of Castile and Edmund of Langley, son of Edward III. Henry IV is shown severing the branch of Richard II. Trees culminate with Henry VI and Edward IV who appear at the top, emerging from their pods, clad in full armour and each bearing a sword.

9. B.M. Harleian Rolls C.9. Illuminated roll chronicle. Begins with picture of the temptation of Adam and Eve. Originally ended with the coronation of Henry VI in 1429 but has been continued to Edward IV in 1461. Conventional British descents. But a complete break before the Heptarchy. A golden line is drawn across the roll before the Saxon lines begin.
10. B.M. Harleian Rolls T.12. Roll chronicle of the kings of England. Adam to Henry VI. The two British lines end with Careticus and with Resus and David. The kings of England derive from the Heptarchy and Woden, and from Rollo the Norman.
11. B.M. Lansdowne Rolls 2. Roll pedigree of the kings of England with biographical notices. Noah to Henry VI. Similar to no. 10.
12. B.M. Royal 14. B. viii. Roll chronicle of the kings of England to 1458. Similar in scope to the preceding two rolls except that a third Welsh line is shown continuing independently on the right of the manuscript; but this again has no connection with the kings of England who are derived from the Norman and Saxon lines linked by the marriage of Henry I and Matilda.
13. B.M. Royal 15. E. vi. An illuminated page showing the descendants of St. Louis in form of a fleur de lis. Centre branch gives direct line of French kings from St. Louis to Charles IV. Left hand gives Valois line to Charles VI and Catharine. The right hand gives English kings from Edward I. The three lines unite in Henry VI. Information, concerning the degree of consanguinity and generations from St. Louis, is given in scrolls.
14. B.M. Sloane 2732. A. Roll pedigree of the kings of England. Adam to Henry VI. Thoroughly conventional. English kings derive from Woden and, ultimately, from Japhet.
15. College of Arms MS., Box 21, no. 3. Roll pedigree of the kings of England. William the Conqueror to Henry VI.
16. College of Arms MS., Box 28, no. 1. Illuminated roll chronicle of the kings of England. Adam to Henry VI. Conventional descents. British lines end with Careticus and Resus and David. English kings from the Saxons and Rollo the Norman.
17. College of Arms MS., Box 28, no. 1 dorso. Last membrane shows the French descent of Henry VI from St. Louis.
18. College of Arms MS., Box 28, no. 4. Roll chronicle of the kings of England. Adam to Henry VI—although the early membranes are missing. Conventional descents as for no. 15, but includes lines of the Popes and Emperors.
19. College of Arms MS., Box 28, no. 5. Roll chronicle of the kings of England. Noah to Henry VI. Conventional descents as for no. 16.
20. College of Arms MS., Box 28, no. 12. Roll chronicle of the kings of England. Noah to Henry VI. Conventional descents, but includes the Archbishops of Canterbury.
21. College of Arms MS., Box 28, no. 20. Roll chronicle of the kings of England. Adam to Henry VI. Conventional descents.

22. College of Arms MS., Box 28, no. B. Roll chronicle of the kings of England. Adam to Henry VI. But shows complete break before the Heptarchy.
23. Rylands Library, Bromley Davenport Chron. Roll 1. Illuminated roll chronicle of the Kings of England. Adam to Henry VI. British lines end with Careticus and with Resus and with David and the other sons of Gruffinus. English kings from the Saxons and Rollo the Norman. Includes the Archbishops of Canterbury.
24. Rylands Library, Bromley Davenport Chron. Roll 2. Roll chronicle of the kings of England. Adam to Henry VI. British lines end with Careticus and with Resus and with David and the other sons of Gruffinus. English kings from the Saxons and Rollo the Norman. Includes *Reges Romanorum*, *Consules Romanorum*, *Imperatores Romanorum* and *Summi Pontifices*.

Edward IV

I. Genealogies with British Descent

1. B.M. Add. 18,268. Roll chronicle illustrating Edward IV's title to the crowns of Wales, France and England. Three lines of descent. Middle line is France and is accompanied by the key rubrics *Gallus* and *Sol*. Line on left is British and begins with an introductory paragraph on Brutus and then shows Caduanus in the first roundel. Each name in this line is accompanied by the rubrics *Brutus*, *Rubius* and *Draco*. Line on the right is of the English kings and has the rubrics *Albus* and *Draco*. The British line links up with the Mortimer descent by the marriage of Gwladys Duy and Radulphus Mortimer. The roll ends with the rivalry between Henry VI who, as the culmination of the English line, is the *Albus Draco*, and Edward IV who is the triumphant British *Rubius Draco*. There is a concluding paragraph summarizing the *British History* and stressing Edward IV's position as the fulfiller of the angelic prophecy to Cadwalader.
2. B.M. Add. 24,342. Roll chronicle of the kings of England. Adam to Edward IV. Imperfect, early membranes only.
3. B.M. Add. 46,354, fols. 59-61. Pedigree of Richard, Duke of York. Shows his descent from Brutus via the marriage of Ralph Mortimer and Gwladys Duy.
4. B.M. Cotton. Vespasian E. vii, fols. 67-69. Latin digest of the *British History*, beginning with Adam. Narrates Brutus's arrival and tells how, in the time of Cadwalader, the last British king, the Britons were expelled for their sins. Cadwalader's descendants survived in Wales and the marriage of Gwladys Duy to Ralph Mortimer is the key to the subsequent descent which ends with Edward IV, present king of Britain, France and Spain.
5. B.M. Cotton. Vespasian E. vii, fols. 69b-72. English summary of the preceding. Traces British descent of Edward IV via the Mortimers. Ends with a picture of Edward wearing a triple crown of Britain, France and Spain. This part of the manuscript is also illustrated with coloured arms.
6. B.M. Egerton 1076. Roll pedigree of Edward IV to show his title to the crown as heir of Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York. Begins with three lines of descent: English, beginning with John; French, beginning with St. Louis; and British, beginning with "Roger Mortimer (sic) that weddede the Heyre of Brute".

7. B.M. Harleian 6148, fols. 120-1. Account of Edward IV's title to the crowns of Britain, France and Spain "ex vetusto libro manuscripto" (clearly a version of nos. 4 and 5). Ends with drawing of Edward wearing the triple crown.
8. B.M. Harleian 6148, fols. 123b-126. Genealogical table with lines of descent from the British and Welsh princes. Shows the marriage of Gwladys Duy and Ralph Mortimer and culminates with Richard, Duke of York, and Edward IV. (Cf. nos. 4, 5, and 7.)
9. College of Arms MS., Box 3, no. 9. Roll pedigree of the kings of England. Mutilated at the beginning and faded. Shows four lines of descent for Edward IV: *heres hispanie*; *heres francie*; *Conquestini Anglie*, beginning with John; and *Heres britannie*, beginning with Llewellyn, Prince of North Wales and *heres cadwaladri*. The Gwladys Duy marriage is shown and the Mortimer descent culminates with Edward IV, "*verus et indubitatus Rex illustrius Britanie francie et hispanie galus*". Extracts from Geoffrey of Monmouth, Gildas, Bede and other writers, are included and near the beginning of the roll is a repetition of the angel's prophecy to Cadwalader.
10. College of Arms MS., Box 21, no. 2 verso. Roll pedigree of Edward IV. Four lines of descent are shown; Britain, England, France and Spain. England begins with a summary (William the Conqueror to John) and ends with Henry VI. *Britania* begins with Iorwoeth, Prince of North Wales, and "*veres heres Cadwalladro qui vocatur Rubeus Draco*". Near the beginning is a summary of the angel's prophecy to Cadwalader. The Gwladys Duy marriage is indicated and the Mortimer line concludes with a roundel, surmounted by three crowns, containing the name of Edward King of France, Britain, and Spain. At the end of the manuscript are crudely sketched-in lines of descent from John of Gaunt and three roundels containing the names of Edward V, Richard III and Henry, king of England, France and Spain.
11. College of Arms MS., Box 28, no. 2 recto. Roll chronicle of the kings of England. Adam to Edward IV. Begins with universal schema and then has a full section from Adam and Eve to Christ, including Brutus and David. British line is on left, while line of Woden and the English kings is on the right. The British line from Locrinus ends with Careticus, but the line from Camber continues through Lud, Mailgo, Kynan, Bely, Yago, Cadwanus, Cadwallo and Cadwalader the last king. The angelic prophecy concerning the ultimate return of the British is noted. This line then continues with the Welsh princes and shows the Gwladys Duy marriage and the subsequent British line of the Mortimers. The English kings are indicated, from Edward III, in the centre of the roll. Richard II is shown as having been "vnrightwisly deposed"; Henry IV was a usurper who "violently pyned to dethte" Richard his king; Henry V and Henry VI were kings, but unlawfully and not by right; Richard, Duke of York, was "ryght eyre of Brute fraunce and spayne"; and finally, Edward IV was "rightful eire of iij kyndomes".
12. College of Arms MS., Box 28, no. 2 verso. Pedigree of Edward IV on dorse of the first and second membranes of the preceding roll. Three lines of descent are shown: England, beginning with Henry III; France, beginning with Philip, son of Louis; and Britain, beginning with Roger Mortimer. French line links with the English through the marriage of Edward II and Isabella, and this united line links with the British through the marriage of

Philippa, daughter of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, and Edmund Mortimer. The three lines culminate with Edward IV, who is styled as the undoubted heir of Britain, France and Spain.

13. College of Arms MS., Box 28, no. 2. verso. Pedigree of Edward IV on dorse of last few membranes of no 11. Several lines of descent are shown. The Welsh line begins with Gerveys, son of Kynan, Prince of Wales. The marriage of Gwladys Duy is shown and the line ends with Edward IV, "kyng of more brutteyn and of fraunce".
14. College of Arms MS., Box 28, no. 7. Roll pedigree of the kings of England. Adam to Edward IV. First membrane mutilated. Original British line ends with Careticus and it is said that the British had to flee to Cornwall and Wales. Heptarchy is shown and continues to reign of John. Then three new lines begin: France; *Anglia conquesta*, with Henry III; and *Britannia*, with "Gladusduy filia lewellin et heredis Bruti". The Mortimer line continues and culminates with Richard, Duke of York, and his son, Edward IV, whose name has not been inked in. Concludes with a summary of the *British History* and the prophecy that the Britons would regain the land when the Saxons had sinned in the same manner that had caused the British expulsion.
15. College of Arms MS., Box 28, no. 10. Roll pedigree of the kings of England. Adam to Edward IV. Very simplified. Prior to Utherpendragon only a single British line is shown. Subsequently a line from Cadwr, "Dux Cornubie", is indicated and continues, through Cadwalader to the Welsh princes. This line is headed, "Rubeus draco gens britanie significat qui ab albo opprimet". The Mortimer marriage with Gwladys Duy is shown and the line culminates with Edward IV and his son Edward, Prince of Wales. A genealogy of Christ from Shem, via David, is included in the early part of this roll.

II. Genealogies without British Descent

16. B.M. Add. 24,026. Roll pedigree of the kings of England. Egbert to Edward IV. With historical notes. Includes the Mortimer descent but does not relate it to the *British History*.
17. B.M. Stowe 72. Latin roll pedigree of the kings of England. Adam to Edward IV. The British line ends with Cadwalader and is followed by the Heptarchy. The kings of England are derived from the Saxons and Rollo the Norman.
18. B.M. Stowe 73. English version of the preceding. Originally a roll but now bound as a book. It is incomplete and commences with Noah. Last section is also imperfect.
19. College of Arms MS., Box 3, no. 16. Roll pedigree, severely mutilated at beginning and end. Lionel, Duke of Clarence, to Edward IV. Shows the line of the usurping Lancastrian kings.
20. College of Arms MS., Box 21, no. 2 recto. Roll pedigree of the kings of England. Adam to Edward IV, and continued to Henry VII. First membrane illuminated with drawing of the temptation of Adam and Eve, surmounted by God the Father. The conventional lines follow but a membrane is obviously missing and the manuscript must have been rejoined for the names Woden, Constantius Magnus and Cuneda are followed by Rollo,

Egbrithus and Ym. The British line from Ym fades out after a long series of empty roundels. The roll concludes with a large crowned roundel of Edward IV who is shown to derive from Richard, Duke of York, Edmund Langley, and thence from Edward III. At the end of the roll there has been added the name of Henry VII who is shown deriving from John of Gaunt through his mother and from Owen Tudor through his father; but these lines are not taken back further.

21. College of Arms., Box 21, no. 9. Roll pedigree, badly mutilated. Edward IV's title to the crowns of England, France, Castile and Leon.
22. College of Arms MS., N. 23. Pedigree of the kings of England. An illuminated volume. Adam to Edward IV. Begins with temptation of Adam and Eve. Includes all the usual *British History* but gives all the descents in a single line with Arthur, Constantinius, Cadwallo and Cadwalader following each other. The Heptarchy then commences leading ultimately to Edward IV.

Henry VII

1. B.M. Add. 27,965. Pedigree of the English kings. Richard II to Henry VII.
2. B.M. Add. 46,354, fols. 105-6. Pedigree of Henry VII showing the Tudor descent from Cadwalader, via Owen Tudor and Idwall. This manuscript also gives a British descent for Richard, Duke of York (see under Edward IV).
3. B.M. Kings 395. Genealogical chronicle of the kings of England. Coarsely illuminated volume. Adam to Henry VII. Includes genealogy of Christ. English kings from Japhet through Woden and Egbert. Welsh princes from Japhet through Brutus. Norman line from Rollo. Henry VII is shown descending from John of Gaunt in one line, and from the British kings in another. The chronicle accompanying the roundels ends with Richard III. On the last page the Tudor line is continued with Henry VIII and Edward VI, but these seem to be later additions.
4. B.M. Harleian 838, fols. 12b-49b. Pedigree of the kings of England with brief historical notices. On the reverse side of each folio is a detailed chronicle in Latin. This manuscript is incomplete. At fol. 33 the line from Cadwalader is entitled "Genealogia domini henrici Septimi regis anglorum a Cadwaladro" and continues through Rhodri Mawr (fol. 35), "Tydure Maure" (fol. 39), "Meredyth" (fol. 43), "Tydur" (fol. 45), "Ewen Tydure" (fol. 47), to Edmund, Earl of Richmond (fol. 47). The line is drawn through fol. 48 as though to be continued on the next folio, but the last roundel of the genealogy shows a villainous-looking Richard "Tyrannus Regni Anglici". Edward IV's daughter Elizabeth is shown as marrying Henry VII, but the Tudor royal line itself is not indicated. Edward IV's Mortimer descent is also shown but goes back no further than the marriage of Edmund Mortimer and Philippa, daughter of Lionel, Duke of Clarence (fol. 46). The volume of heraldic miscellanea in which this genealogy is found is headed at fol. 1 "1550. henry babyngton hoyethe thys boke", and at fol. 12 is the inscription "henry babyngton hoyeth thys boke. 1549." Also at fol. 12 is the inscription "Danyell Hille oweth this booke Anno 1594".
5. B.M. Royal 18. A. lxxv. Pedigree headed, at fol. 2, "This dissent of the moost victorious and Chrysten prynce kyng Edward the sext, sonne and heire of

kyng Henry the viijth, that goeth lynally to Brute, is true lynage and agreith with the best cronycles in Wales", and continues that it is the work of a group of researchers (see above p. 25) whose names establish that this present manuscript must be a copy of an earlier document of Henry VII's reign. In fact much of the manuscript is taken up with the British descent of Henry VII through various lines, and with numerous other Welsh descents. The genealogy commencing on fol. 5 is introduced in the margin with the words, "by gyttyn owen is boke", and from fol. 6b onwards such marginal references are frequent.

6. Bodleian Library, Ashmolean MS. 845, fols. 1-24b. Pedigree of the kings of England. Edward I to Henry VII.
7. College of Arms MS., Box 2, no. 13. A. Roll pedigree of Arthur, Prince of Wales, son of Henry VII. Shows five lines of descent: kings of Scotland, princes of Wales, England, Normandy and France. Henry VII derives from John of Gaunt through his mother and from Katharine, wife of Henry V, through his father. Owen Tudor is not mentioned. Moreover, this Tudor pedigree shows the Welsh line, deriving from Rhodri Mawr, leading, through the marriage of Gwladys Duy, to the Mortimers and so to Edward IV—and, of course, to Elizabeth, wife of Henry VII and mother of Prince Arthur.
8. College of Arms MS., Box 28, no. 19. Roll pedigree of the kings of England. Offa to Henry VII, continued to Edward VI. Very confused lines of descent. Henry VII's Welsh ancestry is indicated but is traced back only as far as 1377 to Grono, and no connection with older British lines is shown. The Mortimer British connection is also clearly shown but its relation to Richard, Duke of York, father of Edward IV, is not indicated.

Henry VIII

1. B.M. Cotton. Julius F. ix, fols. 24a, 24b. Notes on Henry VIII's descent from Cadwalader, through the Welsh princes, both on his father's and on his mother's side.
2. B.M. Lansdowne Rolls 5. Roll pedigree of the kings of England. Two principal lines of descent: English kings from Egbert; Normans from Rollo. Two lines unite with Henry I. A line of the counts of Blois ends with Stephen.
3. B.M. Lansdowne Rolls 6. Roll pedigree of the kings of England. Egbert to Henry VIII. Illustrated with coloured armorials. Begins with the following statement of its aims:

"The manyfould errores dayly used amongis such as Imprint bookes making diuerse abstractis, with abrigid historyis lardying their workis with diuers new inuentions to thintent that such may haue gaynes and seke nogt the secrete of the cronicles that is to say the lyniall descentes, maryages, and affinities with combinacions of yeris, wherfore in excluding all such abusions here folowing you shall see the veritie and originall accorde of diuerse descentes. That is to say how the duches of normandy, of Gascoine and guyen, aniw, maigne, turayne, pontw, tholose and france haue byne annexid to the Crowne of England wyth dyuers other duchiese and counteis of England in lyke maner joynid. By the which you may perceiue clerely theeffect Begynning at the yeres

of our lord viij^c and xl and so contynwid unto the raigne of our souerayne Lord King Henry the viijth."

Begins with four lines : Normandy, England, France and Anjou. In the generation preceding William the Conqueror, a fifth line, of the Mortimers, commences ; while the Angevin line crosses to England with Henry II. Henry IV's descent from Edmund Crouchback, son of Henry III, is shown through his mother Blanche of Lancaster. Edward IV takes over the Mortimer line through his father Richard, Duke of York, and it is written that his sons were "put to final silence by King Richard their uncle". Richard III is depicted as a usurper. Henry VII appears as the son of Margaret, daughter of John Beaufort, and Edmund, Earl of Richmond whose descent is not shown—nor is that of his Welsh forbears. Henry VIII's name concludes the roll ; his marriage to Katharine of Aragon in 1503 is mentioned. It is also said that he made war, in the quarrels of the Church, against Louis XII of France. And the notes end with mention of his victory at Flodden Field in 1513.

4. College of Arms MS., Box 28, no. 33. Roll pedigree of the kings of England. Adam to Henry VIII (*recto*, Adam to Conan ; *verso*, Cortysse to Henry VIII). Shows no connection between the British kings and the later line of the kings of England. This pedigree is illustrated by line drawings such as Noah's ark, and of cities which relate to their founders as, for instance, York by Ebrancus.
5. College of Arms MS., Box 43, no. 9. Final membrane of roll pedigree of the kings of England. Edward I to Henry VIII. This is not a detailed genealogy, but shows Henry VIII immediately after the sons of Edward III ; Lionel, Duke of Clarence ; John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster ; Edmund of Langley, Duke of York. "Of these thre Right noble dukes forsaid . . . ys Linialli discendid and is heire the most victorious prince and kyng henry the viij^{te} by the grace of god kyng of england, of ffrance, defensor of the faith etc.". An account is given of his victories in 1513 and he is described as a "fortunat well lettrid and a prudent kyng, a great bilder and a triumphant prince in all honour". Henry is depicted on a throne, clad in robes of scarlet and ermine. He is crowned and holds a naked sword in his right hand and an orb in his left. Beneath the throne and around it is a rose tree with, on Henry's right, a large red rose and union rose, and, on his left, a large white rose and union rose.

THE PLACE OF JAMES IN THE EARLY CHURCH

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I

AS one reads the New Testament and other early Christian documents, he cannot help but recognize how little we know about James, "the brother of the Lord". What little information we do possess tends to confuse any real understanding of the man and his work. This results, in large degree, from two different factors: (1) most of the canonical writers, representing a viewpoint quite opposed to that of James, tended to downgrade him; (2) while the more conservative early Christians tended to elevate him to a place of ever greater importance.

It is uncertain just when James became a member of the Christian movement. Many writers feel that James (and his brothers) did not follow Jesus during the period of his ministry. This view is usually based upon the episode where the family of Jesus, feeling that Jesus is "beside himself", attempts to seize him in order to withdraw him from his work.¹ Later Christians "remembered" the family's opposition to Jesus and retained this story. It is unknown, however, at what point in his career this event may have happened.

When the book of Acts was written some sixty years after the start of Christianity, the author assumed that the brothers of Jesus had belonged to the movement from the time of its Jerusalem beginnings.² When Paul mentioned the resurrection appearances of Jesus, one of them was to James.³ It seems necessary to agree with Johannes Weiss that "there must

¹ Mark iii. 21, 31.

² Acts i. 14. The author purposely obscures the fact that the followers of Jesus left Jerusalem at the time of the crucifixion. To him the Jerusalem beginnings and the Church's beginnings would be the same.

³ 1 Cor. xv. 7. The resurrection appearances probably took place in Galilee, although Paul assigns no geographical setting.

accordingly have taken place a change of attitude on the part of the brothers, sometime before the appearance to James".¹ What may have happened, however, remains unknown.

Not only the time of James's inclusion in the movement but also the nature of his earliest position in the Church is unknown. It would seem that, practically from the beginning, he occupied an authoritative and dominant place in the Christian community. Paul, three years after his experience on the Damascus Road (c. A.D. 35), visited Cephas (Peter) and James but saw "none of the other apostles".² Although this passage in Galatians suggests that James did not have quite the same outstanding position that Peter possessed, it none the less makes clear the fact that "it was already impossible for a Christian believer to make a stay in Jerusalem without coming into contact with James".³

Certainly by the time of Paul's second visit to the Jerusalem leaders⁴ James stands on an equal position with Cephas and John. James, Cephas, and John are regarded as "pillars" (στυλοὶ) of the Christian movement and are the ones who make the authoritative decisions concerning the faith and practice of the Church.⁵ By the time Paul writes Galatians, James, who is listed first in Galatians ii. 9 and who is significantly identified as "the Lord's brother", has become the leader of the Church.⁶ The later author of the Book of Acts attests this supreme position of James.⁷ Brandon writes that "James is obviously regarded as pre-eminent; he enjoys the unique designation of the Lord's brother . . ., his name is given precedence over those of others when they are mentioned together, and to the reproof of his emissaries at Antioch Peter, without apparent protest, submits".⁸

¹ Johannes Weiss, *Earliest Christianity: A History of the Period A. D. 30-150*, trans. by Frederick C. Grant (New York, 1937), i. 52.

² Gal. i. 18-19.

³ Oscar Cullmann, *Peter: Disciple, Apostle, Martyr*, trans. by Floyd V. Filson (London, 1953), p. 39. This passage in Galatians makes no definite statement about the nature of Peter's leadership, whether single or shared.

⁴ Gal. ii. 1. It is uncertain whether the "then after fourteen years" refers to his conversion experience or his first trip to Jerusalem.

⁵ Ibid. ii. 9.

⁶ Ibid. i. 18-19; ii. 12.

⁷ Acts xii. 17; xv. 13, 19; xxi. 18.

⁸ S. G. F. Brandon, *The Fall of Jerusalem and the Christian Church: A Study of the Effects of the Jewish Overthrow of A.D. 70 on Christianity* (London, 1951), p. 20. On page 5 he notes: "This situation with regard to the leadership of the Church certainly does not correspond with that which the Gospels seem to

Even though at first James had not, according to the later (and somewhat unfriendly) gospel tradition, belonged to the inner circle of Jesus' followers—or perhaps to the movement at all—he was very early counted as one of the “apostles”.¹ It was primarily his status as a physical brother of Jesus which elevated him to this position alongside Peter and the others.² Along with Peter and John (and possibly James the son of Zebedee also in the earliest days), James gave leadership and guidance to the movement. There is a real doubt that “The Twelve” ever occupied this position. Only three of the Twelve ever emerge as personalities in the Synoptic material.³ Some scholars point out that the historical reality of The Twelve is open to serious doubt.⁴

James, as the Lord's brother, soon outpaced the others as leaders of the Church. Lietzmann writes that

The leader of the first Church was James. He had gladly been given this honour, immediately on joining the Church, obviously because *he was Jesus' brother*. After James' death, a cousin of Jesus was chosen to be his successor,

presuppose. In these writings Jesus is represented as having a special band of twelve disciples ‘to be with him’ and among these Cephas or Peter is obviously the leader. James, the lord's brother, is definitely not reckoned among these twelve, and, moreover, he is represented by inference as unsympathetic and perhaps even hostile to the mission of Jesus. Peter, on the other hand, is not only depicted as the spokesman and leader of the twelve, but also singled out as the recipient of special attention from Jesus, and in one Gospel he is actually described as receiving a unique spiritual authority from the Master. Thus a strange lacuna appears in our picture of the constitution of the Church in the matter of government as we move from the later Gospels to the earlier Epistles. If the Gospel version be true, then clearly in some unexplained way Peter had been ousted from his original primacy by James, the erstwhile sceptical brother of the Lord. How such an unexpected change was effected during the two vital decades after the Crucifixion obviously presents a problem of considerable moment for a proper understanding of Christian Origins.” See also Burnett Hillman Streeter, *The Primitive Church* (London, 1929), p. 39.

¹ Gal. i. 19.

² Cullmann, *op. cit.* p. 39.

³ Brandon, *op. cit.* p. 49. Sherman E. Johnson, *Jesus in His Homeland* (New York, 1957), p. 41, points out that the Qumran community was ruled by a group of twelve men, including three priests. He raises the question of the possibility that there may have existed among the early Christians, just as in the Essene community, “a council which included an inner leadership of three men”.

⁴ Maurice Goguel, *The Life of Jesus*, trans. by Olive Wyon (New York, 1933), pp. 340-1.

and, even at a later date, blood relations of Jesus enjoyed special regard in the Church.¹

Streeter likewise emphasizes the importance of this blood relationship of James to Jesus (and David) when he writes,

. . . the position of James as the eldest male of the Messianic House, brought it about that in the Church of Jerusalem there was from the earliest times a single person credited with unique authority, different in kind from that of the ordinary presbyter. From the first, then, the government of this church was of the type that it will be convenient to describe by the adjective "monepiscopal"—which I shall use to imply the presidency of an individual "bishop" whose status is confessedly much more than that of *primus inter pares* among the presbyters.²

Another factor which contributed to the ascendancy of James was the controversy stirred up by the presence of the Hellenists within the early Christian movement. Stephen, the great spokesman for the Hellenists, brought death upon himself and persecution to Christianity by his extreme beliefs, statements, and practices.³ Weiss feels that "the death of Stephen was a warning to be cautious and gave the upper hand to the conservative element in the Church".⁴ Any swing to the right could only benefit James. James's religious beliefs were primarily those of the orthodox Jew of the first century—"modified little save by the

¹ Hans Lietzmann, *The Beginnings of the Christian Church*, trans. by Bertram Lee Woolf (London, 1949), pp. 66-7. Italics mine. Cf. Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, III. x. 11 and IV. xxii. 4.

² Streeter, *op. cit.* p. 73. See also Joseph Klauser, *From Jesus to Paul*, trans. by William F. Stinespring (London, 1943), p. 350; Brandon, *op. cit.* p. 50.

³ Acts vi-vii. See Marcel Simon, *St. Stephen and the Hellenists in the Primitive Church* (London, 1958).

⁴ Weiss, *op. cit.* i. 171. He continues: "Perhaps the distrust of the primitive church for the Hellenistic movement dates from this period, that distrust which becomes prominent in the story of Paul, and also that stiffening in its attitude of loyalty to the Law which we notice more and more as time goes on, and the rise to great prominence of James who now takes up the leadership of the church. It is at this period that the saying about the jot and tittle (Matt. v. 18), if it did not actually originate, at any rate began to be emphasized as the shibboleth of the stricter tendency in the church. Moreover the narrow-minded missionary regulation 'Go not into any way of the Gentiles, and enter not into any city of the Samaritans' . . . must have originated at this time. What was in Jesus' case instinctive self-limitation, has here become a maxim of exclusiveness. One would probably not go far astray in surmising that this timid attitude of fear of defilement, so foreign to the spirit of Jesus, emerged only when the primitive church, alarmed by far-reaching enterprises, withdrew completely within itself and confined itself to work among its own race."

conviction that He was the Messiah, which followed on a post-resurrection appearance".¹ James, and the school of thought which followed him, " strove for the ideal of Jewish ' righteousness ' ".² Later tradition pictured James as a devout man who was held in high respect by the Jews ; through his long and frequent prayers his knees had grown callouses " like a camel's ".³

Stephen's work brought persecution and suffering upon the early Christian community. Acts reports, " And on that day a great persecution arose against the Church in Jerusalem : and they were *all* scattered throughout the region of Judea and Samaria, . . . ".⁴ The author of Acts qualifies this statement by saying that *all but the apostles fled*. This probably results from his desire to show that The Twelve never left Jerusalem—a view which also led him to hide the fact that the disciples returned to Galilee after the crucifixion and likewise caused him to move the resurrection appearances of Jesus to the Jerusalem area. In all probability Peter and the other apostles must have fled or at least gone into hiding. James, as one of the most " loyal " Jews, would not have been bothered. An interesting parallel to this occurs a few years later when Agrippa I put James the son of Zebedee to death and arrested Peter (c. A.D. 43-44). Peter was " miraculously " delivered from prison and fled from Jerusalem.⁵ James then became the leader of the Jerusalem Church. James and the Christian community in Jerusalem were then free from being disturbed by the authorities for almost twenty years. This, says Klausner, was because " James was punctilious about observing the ritual requirements and honouring the Temple ".⁶

These three factors—James's blood relationship to Jesus (and David), the swing to conservatism following Stephen's death, and

¹ Streeter, op. cit. p. 73.

² Lietzmann, op. cit. p. 66.

³ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, II. xxiii, 4-18.

⁴ Acts viii. 1

⁵ Acts xii. 1-17.

⁶ Klausner, op. cit. p. 348. It was not until A.D. 62 that a change occurred. At this time the high priest Ananus convened the Sanhedrin upon his own authority and condemned James to death. The Pharisees were displeased by this act and complained to Agrippa II. They also met with Albinus, the newly appointed procurator, while he was still in Alexandria and complained that Ananus had unlawfully convened the Sanhedrin. Ananus was therefore removed from office after having been high priest only three months. See Josephus, *Antiquities*, xx, lx. 1.

the departure of Peter and others from Jerusalem—combined to make James the *great* leader of the early Church. Few points out clearly the dominant position which came to James :

It is James who is the leader of the Church at the time of Peter's release from prison. When a formal decision is chronicled at the Council of Jerusalem, it is James who makes the decisive speech. It is probably true that Protestant exegetes and historians have been inclined to underestimate the position of Peter among the Apostles, and in the primitive community. But it is equally true that if we were to call any Apostle " pope " in a primitive hierarchy, it would be not Peter, but James. The Twelve disappear from the pages of Acts after the Council of Jerusalem. According to the Travel-Document used in the last part of the book, Paul meets James and the elders when he visits Jerusalem for the last time.¹

In the above quotation we glimpse the power and thought of James at work at two different times during the period of his leadership of the Mother Church in Jerusalem (and, therefore, of the whole Church). Paul and Barnabas, because of the attacks of the Judaisers upon their work, came to Jerusalem to meet with James and the other leaders of the Church. At this conference James made the decisive speech. Out of this came some sort of " general agreement " (something which is often interpreted in different ways when the parties involved attempt to write down their own understanding of what was arrived at.) Out of this decision—*either* immediately or some time later—came the " Apostolic Decree " governing the terms under which Gentiles were to be admitted.²

In connection with this problem one should point out that at a later time some people commissioned by James appeared in Antioch, the centre of the Gentile mission, and insisted that a Jewish Christian could not disregard the Law in any way—thereby making table-fellowship between Jewish and Gentile Christians impossible. This was responsible for Peter's " backsliding " from his earlier and more liberal position. Paul says,

¹ R. Newton Flew, *Jesus and His Church : A Study of the Idea of the Ecclesia in the New Testament* (London, 1938), p. 184.

² Acts xv: 29. Many scholars feel that Paul never " set his hand " to these provisions. Some would feel that these represent essentially what was agreed upon at this Jerusalem Conference while others would feel that James and his followers *later* sent these to Antioch to cover the situation. See Burnett Hillman Streeter, *The Four Gospels : A Study of Origins* (London, 1924), pp. 550-1 and Brandon, *op. cit.* pp. 27-8.

But when Cephas came to Antioch I opposed him to his face, because he stood condemned. For before certain men came from James, he ate with the Gentiles; but when they came he drew back and separated himself, fearing the circumcision party. And with him the rest of the Jews acted insincerely, so that even Barnabas was carried away by their insincerity.¹

James, through the weight of his position and argument, was able to convince Peter and Barnabas that the Jewish food laws must be observed if fellowship were to be continued. The fact that these two established leaders in the missionary field changed their views on the terms of Gentile inclusion shows the strength of James's power.²

The final episode which throws light on the nature of James's position comes from near the end of his life—when Paul makes his last journey to Jerusalem, probably to accompany and interpret the "collection for the poor" which Gentile Christians had collected for the use of the Jerusalem Church.³ Acts records that, upon his arrival, Paul went "unto James; and all the elders were present".⁴ Brandon says,

The picture thus given of James as the essential head of the Mother Church, attended by the elders, must certainly be a natural expression of the author's conception of the organization of the authority in the apostolic community, a conception which by virtue of its tacit inclusion in the narrative must surely be regarded as representative of common knowledge in contemporary Christian circles.⁵

James probably met his death in A.D. 62,⁶ and Peter was removed by death shortly thereafter. Even in death, though, the struggle for supremacy between the two men and their schools of thought continued. Whereas in life James became the dominant leader of the Church, in death Peter prevailed. This was

¹ Gal. ii. 11-13.

² Lietzmann, *op. cit.* p. 108.

³ Rom. xv. 25-27.

⁴ Acts xxi. 18.

⁵ Brandon, *op. cit.* pp. 27-8. Acts xxi 18 is from one of the "We" passages, which are usually interpreted to mean that the author was present at these times.

⁶ Josephus, *Antiquities*, xx, ix. 1, is the basis for the date of 62. Many scholars, however, feel that this passage is a later Christian interpolation. Some would feel that the second-century Christian writer Hegesippus, whose testimony is preserved in Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* (ii, p. xxiii), is to be preferred. Hegesippus says that the martyrdom of James took place after the outbreak of the Jewish War because Christians refused to participate in this struggle against Rome. This would make his death occur about A.D. 67.

due to the fact that Christianity was increasingly, and almost exclusively, becoming a Gentile movement. It also stemmed from the events of A.D. 70—when Jerusalem and the temple were destroyed, the Jewish-Christian Church was decimated, and it was forced to flee Jerusalem. This struggle is reflected in much of early Christian literature. Our canonical writings tend to depreciate James and glorify Peter while the writings of the more conservative Jewish Christians do just the opposite.

II

A reading of the canonical Gospels shows how the feeling against James and the claims made in his name expressed itself in a number of ways. The most striking example of this attitude, perhaps, is the rather unfavourable picture which is drawn of the brothers of Jesus. In different degrees this attitude of reproach is found in all four Gospels.

Mark, the earliest Gospel to be written, represents the view of the Church at Rome—where the influence of Peter and Paul ¹ made itself felt. Mark, according to tradition, was closely connected with Peter. It is only natural that this rivalry for leadership and the feelings raised by the claims made for each would show forth in this work. Mark shows the family of Jesus alarmed at his work, feeling that he was “beside himself”, and attempting to seize him. Jesus refused to see them when they arrived and, in a sense, disowned them—saying “Whoever does the will of God is my brother, and sister, and mother”.² Once again, a little later on, Mark describes the unfavourable reaction that Jesus received in his home town of Nazareth and has Jesus summarize it in this way: “A prophet is not without honour, except in his own country, and *among his own kin*, and in his own house.”³ Mark, in order that people might not mistake who “his kin” are, then proceeds to name all his brothers, starting with James.

¹ In recent years scholars have come to realize that Peter and Paul, instead of being poles apart, were actually very close to one another in attitude and practice. See Weiss, *op. cit.* i. 201, and Flew, *op. cit.* pp. 218-19.

² Mark iii. 21-22, 31-35.

³ Mark vi. 1-6. *Italics mine.*

Matthew, generally thought to have been written about A.D. 80, is usually said to have come from the neighbourhood of Antioch in Syria. One should remember the close connection of Peter (and of Paul) with the Church here. Although this Gospel is more Jewish than Mark and Luke, it still has a strong Gentile bias that shines through at many places.¹ Written in an area where Peter was especially revered, it could only be expected to retain the views which the author found in Mark. Matthew omits any reference to his family's thinking Jesus is "beside himself", probably feeling that such a view was better left unsaid. Yet he does retain the account of Jesus' refusing to see his mother and brothers.² The author likewise retained Jesus' declaration about a prophet being without honour in his own country but omitted the word "kin".³ Luke,⁴ writing his Gospel about 90, treated the first episode in very much the same way as Matthew did; he omitted Mark iii. 21-22 but retained the story of Jesus' refusal to see his family. When Luke came to write of Jesus' reaction to his reception in Nazareth, Luke toned down the whole answer of Jesus.⁵ Here, as in other places, Luke was undoubtedly motivated by his ultimate purpose of presenting Jesus and his work in a way most appealing to a Roman reader.

John, the latest of the canonical Gospels to be written, likewise possessed this bias against the brothers of Jesus and even accentuated it. When Jesus was working in Galilee, his brothers told him to go to Judea to work—for "even his brothers did not believe him".⁶ Jesus then strongly reproached his brothers, "For my time has not yet come, but your time is always here. The world cannot hate you, but it hates me because I testify of it that its works are evil."⁷ Some scholars have also felt that there is also a criticism of the brothers of Jesus when John has Jesus commit his mother to the "beloved disciple" as her "son."⁸

¹ See Kenneth W. Clark, "The Gentile Bias in Matthew", *Journal of Biblical Literature*, lxvi (1947), 165-72.

² Matt. xii. 46-50.

³ Ibid. xiii. 53-58.

⁴ Luke viii. 19-21.

⁵ Ibid. iv. 16-30.

⁶ John vii. 3-5.

⁷ Ibid. vii. 6-7.

⁸ Ibid. xix. 26-27. In all probability none of the disciples was present at the crucifixion. All of them, in all likelihood, had gone into hiding or fled the city.

A second way in which the canonical Gospels seem to express their hostility to James and his interpretation of Christianity is in their bitter attacks upon the Pharisees. One of the great achievements of modern scholarship has been the establishment of the Pharisees as a group worthy of respect. Jesus was much closer to the Pharisees than to any other group in Jewish religious life. They represented the best in Judaism. Yet, at certain points, the Gospels show Jesus criticizing the Pharisees. Only in one or two instances does Jesus clearly criticize the Pharisaic interpretation of Scripture. In other cases he simply goes farther in the extension of privilege. Most of the Christian scholars who have worked on this problem (men such as Branscomb, Robert Grant, Herford, Moore, and Riddle) have suggested that Jesus was not attacking the Pharisees as a whole (since his own religious and ethical beliefs were almost wholly in agreement with theirs), but that he was attacking those Pharisees who took advantage of their position of authority to exploit or oppress the Jewish masses. His charges of hypocrisy against these were echoed by the Jewish rabbis of the time.

Some of the scholars who have dealt with the question of Jesus' attitude toward the Pharisees have suggested that the authors of the Gospels were more hostile to the Pharisees than Jesus himself was—so that our canonical Gospels possess a bias against this religious group. In recent years there has been an "increased recognition of the motivated and interpretative element in the Synoptics. Their narratives like those in Acts appear to combine much accurate historical colouring and much unhistorical framework."¹

It seems quite true that the Synoptics have accentuated and heightened Jesus' statements concerning the Pharisees. Mark, the earliest Gospel to be written, expresses some anti-Pharisaism, but his bias is more antiscribal than anti-Pharisaic—for his "identifications hardly characterize the Pharisees as a class".²

¹ Henry J. Cadbury, "New Testament Scholarship: Fifty Years in Retrospect", *The Journal of Bible and Religion*, xxviii (1960), 198. Cadbury points out that "the role of dramatic composition is increasingly recognized in the speeches of Acts and the Gospel of John".

² Donald W. Riddle, *Jesus and the Pharisees: A Study in Christian Tradition* (Chicago, 1928), p. 30.

Riddle feels, however, that it is different in Matthew (so closely connected with Antioch and/or Syria) :

However it is to be accounted for, it is unmistakable that in this gospel there is pronounced anti-Pharisaic polemic. This is observable in all relationships, in the editorial alterations of the Markan source, in the other forms of tradition, and in the peculiar materials. While there is in the Matthean Gospel a basic appreciation of the legalistic point of view, and some knowledge and appreciation of the values of Judaism, there can be no doubt that the writer intended a gulf of distinction to be understood as existing between Jesus and the Pharisees. This is a basic element in the point of view of the evangelist.¹

Riddle likewise believes that the author of Luke-Acts, in his first volume, desired to give his readers an unfavourable picture of the Pharisees :

The reader is expected to understand that there was a great gulf between Jesus and the Pharisees. To be sure, the presentation is not so unfavourable as that of Matthew, and there are exceptions in Luke to the generally unsympathetic delineation. . . . But the lack of consistency and the several exceptions do not obscure the development of the process as a whole.²

By the time that John—generally, although not universally, agreed to be the latest of the Gospels to be written—was produced, the author has gone beyond Matthew and Luke :

On the whole it may be said that the Fourth Gospel, in its highly interesting modifications of the earlier traditions, represents Jesus and the Pharisees in a relation in which unfriendliness is not only much farther advanced, but is inclusive of several new features. Of special importance is the alleged association of the Pharisees with the groups which secured Jesus' death. This marks a complete departure from the Synoptic tradition. Another important datum is the objective attitude toward the Law which is ascribed to Jesus.³

The reason given most often to explain this hostility on the part of the evangelists towards the Pharisees is the great rivalry between the Church and the Synagogue at the end of the first century⁴—from the Fall of the Temple in A.D. 70 onward. This undoubtedly, heightened the antagonism of the writers where

¹ Ibid. p. 31. One should note especially chapter 23 of Matthew where there is a blistering attack upon the Pharisees.

² Ibid. p. 37.

³ Ibid. p. 52. He says also, "It is apparent that the picture of Jesus and the Pharisees in the latest gospel in several respects goes beyond those of the earlier sources, so far beyond, in fact, that the opposition between Jesus and the Pharisees is practically coincident with that between Jesus and the Jews."

⁴ Concerning this hostility see my article "The Fourth Gospel and the Exclusion of Christians from the Synagogues," *BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY*, xl (1957-58), 19-32.

the Pharisees were concerned. There was, however, a much earlier basis for this antagonism, I believe. Its roots go back before the events of A.D. 70, back to the second and third decades of Christian history. James, the leader of the more conservative elements in the early Church and the one who eventually reached the position of greatest leadership and influence in the Jerusalem Church, was a Christian Pharisee. This is the picture of James given in Paul's Letter to the Galatians and in Acts. The second-century portrait of him by Hegesippus¹ confirms the earlier biblical presentation. It was only natural that, as the struggle for dominance took place between Peter and James (and their followers) in the second and third decades following the resurrection appearances, the followers of Peter, more liberal on matters of the Law and Gentile inclusion, would resent the pharisaic character and claims of James and his followers. Certain statements of Jesus would be "remembered" (although, perhaps, a slightly different emphasis might now be given to his words). Probably at this time, especially in the late forties, the anti-Pharisaic elements in the Gospel tradition worked their way into the collected sayings of Jesus. These provided the basis for the further developments that the individual Evangelists made.

In this same period and out of the same situation, it would seem, came the basis for the universalistic statements that rest in the Gospel of Matthew. As the inclusive nature of the message of Jesus really became understood and as the Gentile mission increasingly prospered, there arose the problem of the terms of Gentile inclusion that rocked the early Church. The more liberal or universalistic wing of the early Christian movement needed more than Peter's vision² to justify its action in the light of James's opposition to much of their work. Statements by Jesus himself were needed. Undoubtedly at the heart of some of these would lie a genuine utterance of Jesus; but, at the same time, the needs of the hour heightened and expanded Jesus' attitudes and teachings. The author of Matthew found a certain amount of universalistic material already formed by the Church in the neighbourhood of Antioch. This he developed and

¹ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, ii, p. xxiii.

² Acts x.

interpreted in a way that was "strongly partisan, favouring the Gentile and renouncing the Jew".¹

The clearest and strongest rejection of James and the claims made for him is to be found in the tradition that has come to rest in Matthew xvi. 17-19. At this point in the Synoptic account Jesus, after being told by the disciples what the masses thought of him, asked what the disciples themselves believed. Peter, acting as the spokesman for The Twelve, answered that Jesus was the Christ. At this point Matthew makes an addition to the account that he found in Mark :

And Jesus answered him, "Blessed are you, Simon Bar-Jona ! For flesh and blood has not revealed this to you, but my Father who is in heaven. And I tell you, you are Peter, and on this rock I will build my church, and the powers of death shall not prevail against it. I will give you the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatever you bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatever you loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven."

The genuineness of this particular statement or promise has been widely challenged by scholars. The main objections to its authenticity have been four : (1) Matthew alone gives this passage ; (2) nowhere else does Jesus speak of establishing a church ; (3) Peter only served as the spokesman for all the disciples to whom the question had been addressed, so why should he be singled out for this honour ; and (4) the whole passage seems out of keeping with the context in which it is found. Elsewhere, Jesus' thoughts on his messiahship led him immediately to the subject of his suffering and death.

Scholarly opinion on the question of the genuineness of Matthew xvi. 17-19 is sharply divided. Some writers would insist that it is quite acceptable just as it is. Others, somewhat troubled but wishing to retain this saying, suggest that Jesus actually made such a pronouncement but upon some other occasion. This is the view taken by Flew and Cullmann.² Many other scholars

¹ Clark, *op. cit.* pp. 171-2. See especially pp. 166-7 for examples of the pro-gentile material. Clark says that the author of Matthew "was persuaded that the Christian gospel, originally delivered to the Jews, had been rejected by them as a people ; that God had now turned his back upon Judaism and chosen the largely gentile Christianity. The two strains of his gospel reflect these two stages in God's plan to save his chosen people. But the assurance that the gentiles have displaced the Jews is the basic message and the gentile bias of Matthew " (p. 172).

² Flew, *op. cit.* pp. 134, 136; Cullmann, *op. cit.* pp. 178-9.

such as Goguel and Weiss reject the genuineness of this passage.¹ Cullmann, who strains every possible way to hold on to this passage, says :

Thus at the present time the question is once more in flux, and we can scarcely speak any longer of a consensus of opinion. A statistical study of the position that thirty-four modern authors take on this question has shown that they divide into two approximately equal groups.²

It seems to this writer that those who oppose the authenticity of Matthew xvi. 17-19 are on much more solid ground than those who argue in its favour. Not only do the four arguments cited above rule against it but so also does the fact (too often overlooked) that this same Gospel of Matthew assigns the same power of binding and loosing, in another place, to *all* the apostles :

Truly, I say to you, whatever you bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatever you loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven. Again I say to you, if two of you agree on earth about anything they ask, it will be done for them by my Father in heaven.³

This second form, where Jesus gives the power of binding and loosing to *all* the apostles, is probably the earlier form. The alternative version conferring it on Peter is later and comes from Antiochene oral tradition. In connection with this point we should remember what the Antiochene Church was like. It was founded by "refugees from the persecution in which Stephen fell"—that is, by "members of a group whose general attitude toward the Law and Temple was evidently not that of James and such of The Twelve as were then in Jerusalem".⁴ This was the place where the message was first preached to the Greeks.⁵ The Church at Antioch sponsored the Gentile missionary movement led by Paul, Barnabas, and others.⁶ Peter was associated with Antioch after taking up his missionary work.⁷

¹ Goguel, op. cit. pp. 378-9, n. 1 ; and Weiss, op. cit. ii. 719.

² Cullmann, op. cit. pp. 169, 211.

³ Matt. xviii. 18-19. See also John xx. 23, "If you forgive the sins of any, they are forgiven ; if you retain the sins of any, they are retained."

⁴ Streeter, *The Primitive Church*, pp. 74-5. Streeter writes, "This may be one reason why the constitution of the newly formed Church at Antioch was definitely *not* modelled on that of Jerusalem. At any rate, the evidence [Acts xviii. 1 ff.] shows that it was not so modelled."

⁵ Acts xi. 20.

⁶ Acts xiii. 1-3.

⁷ Gal. ii. 11.

Peter, it would seem, had a very close connection with the Church at Antioch—perhaps making this his operating base after the Jerusalem part of his career was over. Cullmann feels that Antioch would have been the centre of the Jewish Christian mission as well as the Gentile Christian mission.¹ Streeter says, quite rightly, “If we are to associate the outlook of Antioch . . . with the name of any Apostle, it will be with that of Peter.”² Later tradition made Peter the first “bishop” of Antioch.³

The more liberal [Jewish] Christians of Antioch would naturally feel that Jesus had given the authority to “bind and loose” to Peter rather than James who was the leader of the conservatives and reactionaries.⁴ Peter, rather than James, should determine how much (or how little) of the Jewish Law would be binding on the Gentile converts. If, as many scholars suggest, Matthew was produced as the Gospel of the Church at Antioch, then such a statement as xvi. 17-19 was only to be expected, for “the preservation of the saying . . . is due to the conviction in Antioch that the rules of Peter for the admission of Gentiles were better than the conservatism of James”.⁵ Weiss, although rather hesitant to locate geographically the origin of the statement, none the less shows its significance :

Where this tradition of Peter’s headship arose, whether in Antioch, Asia Minor, or Rome, we do not venture to say. It is very significant, however, that Matt. 16:18 considers St. Peter the sovereign authority for the whole Church. In this is reflected again the viewpoint opposite to that which maintains that the head of the church in Jerusalem stands at the head of the whole Church—that the congregation there represents the Church in general. We see in Matt. 16:18, on the other hand, the self-consciousness of the missionary church making itself felt.

¹ Cullmann, *op. cit.* p. 53.

² Streeter, *The Primitive Church*, p. 45. See also p. 58.

³ Cullmann, *op. cit.* pp. 226, 229, 231. It should be noticed that even later tradition claimed Peter as the first bishop of Rome and Caesarea.

⁴ Streeter, *The Primitive Church*, p. 60.

⁵ Flew, *op. cit.* pp. 218-19, n. 4. Streeter, *The Primitive Church*, p. 60, says that Matthew “reflects alike the missionary spirit, and the liberal Jewish atmosphere, of Antioch. At any rate, even if compiled elsewhere than in Antioch, we know that it soon became the most favoured Gospel in Syria; for it is the Gospel most often quoted, indeed the only one undoubtedly quoted, both in that early Syrian work the *Didache* and by Ignatius of Antioch.”

While here the whole Church is bound together under the leadership of Peter, it has freed itself from the authority of Jerusalem and has emphasized that the strength of the Church lies in the mission field.¹

III

At the same time that the more liberal or universalistic Christians were downgrading James in the various ways we have seen in the canonical writings, the more conservative Jewish Christians were already involved in just the opposite process. The early position of influence, prestige, and authority that James possessed, as a result of the factors we noted in Part I, was steadily accentuated and heightened. A number of examples of this development can be found today—in spite of the fact that the type of literature in which it was found, belonging to the right wing branch of the Christian movement, was rejected by the Church as heretical and has largely disappeared.

The first notable development in the growing Jewish Christian tradition about James was the emphasis upon his holiness. Hegesippus, the early second-century Christian writer whose work has been partially preserved by Eusebius, shows how revered James was by the second century :

James, the Lord's brother, . . . has been universally called *the Just*, from the days of the Lord down to the present time. For many bore the name of James ; but this one was holy from his mother's womb. He drank no wine or *other* intoxicating liquor, nor did he eat flesh ; no razor came upon his head ; he did not anoint himself with oil, nor make use of the bath. He alone was permitted to enter the holy place ; for he did not wear any woollen garment, but fine linen only. He alone, *I say*, was wont to go into the temple : and he used to be found kneeling on his knees, begging forgiveness for the people—so that the skin of his knees became horny like that of a camel's, by reason of his constantly bending the knee in adoration to God, and begging forgiveness for the people. Therefore, in consequence of his pre-eminent justice, he was called *the Just*, and *Oblias*, which signifies in Greek *Defence of the People*, and *Justice*, in accordance with what the prophets declare concerning him.²

Hegesippus' somewhat legendary description of James shows how almost overnight James became the " patron saint " of the Jewish

¹ Weiss, op. cit. ii. 719. Perhaps some of the factors led to the post-resurrection commission in John xxi. 15-18.

² Hegesippus, as quoted in Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, ii. p. xxiii. This is from the translation in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers* (Grand Rapids, 1951), viii. 762.

Christians because of his holiness and asceticism.¹ James's memory, to the Jewish Christians, was as effective as that of Peter or Paul to the Gentile churches.²

James's holiness, then, gave him a claim upon the devotion of the Jewish Christians (and of the whole Jewish people, according to Hegesippus). Accentuating this claim upon their devotion was the fact that James "was a successor with Jesus of the royal line of David". Where the Gentile Christians emphasized the position that had come through Jesus' choosing Peter (and The Twelve), the Jewish Christians were more interested in James's blood relationship to David and to Jesus.³

Before long, however, for their own "protection" Jewish Christians began to make known their belief that James too had been chosen. Hegesippus wrote, "James, the Lord's brother, succeeds to the government of the Church, in conjunction with the apostles".⁴ James came to be viewed as the head of the Church—as the "bishop of bishops". The Clementine Homilies, which Streeter dates about 225, "represent a party feeling of an earlier period" in their understanding of James's position.⁵ James is called "the lord, and the bishop of bishops, who rules Jerusalem, the holy church of the Hebrews, and the churches everywhere", the "prince of priests", and "the lord and bishop of the holy Church, under the Father of all, through Jesus Christ".⁶ The later Liturgy of St. James, which incorporates earlier sources, raises James to the dignity of "the brother of the very God" [ἀδελφός Θεός].⁷

At the same time that the Gentile Christian community was in the process of elevating the position of Peter (in part against the claims of the followers of James and his relatives who succeeded him), the Jewish Christians sought more and more to show Peter as subordinate to James. Peter writes to James as

¹ See Philip Carrington, *The Early Christian Church* (Cambridge, 1957), i. 248-9.

² Ibid. p. 96.

³ Ibid. pp. 97, 250.

⁴ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, ii. p. xxiii. Cf. vii. p. xix.

⁵ Streeter, *The Four Gospels*, p. 258.

⁶ Epistle of Clement to James, *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, viii. 218, and Epistle of Peter to James, *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, viii. 215.

⁷ Liturgy of St. James, cited in Philip Schaff, *History of the Christian Church* (New York, 1901), i. 268.

"the lord and bishop of the holy Church, under the Father of all, through Jesus Christ".¹ Peter's commission appears to have come from James, along with the command that he report year by year what he has done.² Peter was sent to Caesarea by James to oppose Simon.³ No teacher was to be believed "unless he bring from Jerusalem the testimonial of James the Lord's brother".⁴ All of these things are stated in the Clementine literature which is, basically, still friendly to Peter.

This same attitude is also found in the writings of Clement of Alexandria who flourished at the end of the second century. Peter and John do not contend with James for the leadership of the Church but, gracefully and rightfully, step aside: "Peter and James and John, after the Saviour's ascension, though pre-eminently honoured by the Lord, did not contend for glory but made James the Just bishop of Jerusalem."⁵

Still another way in which the Jewish Christians attempted to show that James (and his successors) rightfully owned the primary position of leadership in the Church can be seen in their account of the resurrection appearances of Jesus. Gentile Christians and the more liberal Jewish Christians taught that the Risen Christ had first appeared to Peter. This is the testimony of Paul a generation after the resurrection.⁶ Luke, although he does not describe this appearance of Jesus to Peter, speaks of it as having taken place.⁷ It should be noted that Paul was closely attached to the Church at Antioch, where Peter's claim to leadership seems to have been strong. Luke, closely associated with Paul, echoes the accepted tradition here. Jewish Christians of the more conservative type, however, came to believe that Jesus appeared first

¹ *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, viii. 215.

² The Clementine Homilies, i. xx [*Ante-Nicene Fathers*, viii. 228]; Recognitions of Clement, i. xvii [*Ante-Nicene Fathers*, viii. 81].

³ Recognitions of Clement, i, lxxii [*Ante-Nicene Fathers*, viii. 96].

⁴ Ibid. iv. p. xxv [*Ante-Nicene Fathers*, viii. 142]. Cullmann, op. cit. p. 62, points out that the Clementine Homilies (i. xvii. xix) reject the apostolic rank of Paul because it rests only on a vision. In this writing Peter (who is thought to have been given to visions) denies the value of visions in general (Recognitions of Clement, ii. lxxvii).

⁵ Clement of Alexandria, *Hypotyposes* (Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, ii. i. 3) [*Ante-Nicene Fathers*, viii. 579.]

⁶ Cor. xv. 5.

⁷ Luke xxiv. 34.

to James. The Gospel of the Hebrews taught that the earliest resurrection appearance of Jesus was to James :

But the Lord, when he had given the linen garment to the high priest's slave, went to James and appeared to him ; for James had sworn that he would not eat bread from that hour when he had drunk the Lord's cup until he saw him rising from those who sleep. . . . "Bring," says the Lord, "a table and bread." He took bread and blessed it and broke it and gave it to James the Just and said to him, "My brother, eat your bread, for the Son of Man has arisen from those who sleep."¹

Robert Grant, after noting that the author of this Gospel has made James a guest at the Last Supper and also made James take an oath similar to that which Jesus took, has said that "In general, the sole purpose of this story is to strengthen the claims of the Church of Jerusalem at the expense of gentile Christians."² Clement of Alexandria perhaps reflects this story from the Gospel of the Hebrews when he speaks of Jesus imparting knowledge [τὴν γνώσιν] "to James the Just, and John and Peter, . . . after his resurrection".³ His ordering of these three early leaders of the Church is, to say the least, unusual.

The Jerusalem Church even developed its own form of the commission of leadership. Whereas Matthew (the Gospel of the Church at Antioch) gave this to Peter in xvi. 17-19, the Gospel of Thomas (retaining a story of Jewish Christian tradition)⁴ assigns it to James :

The disciples said to Jesus
We know that you will go away from us.
Who will then be great over us ?
Jesus said unto them :
In the place to which you have gone,
You will go to James the Just,
for whose sake the heaven and the earth came into
existence.⁵

¹ This fragment from the Gospel of the Hebrews is preserved in Jerome, *De Viris illustr.* 2. It can be found quoted in Robert M. Grant with David Noel Freedman, *The Secret Sayings of Jesus* (New York, 1960), p. 35.

² Grant, *The Secret Sayings of Jesus*, p. 36.

³ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, vii. ii. 1.

⁴ Grant, *The Secret Sayings of Jesus*, p. 77, suggests that the author of this gospel may have been influenced by the Gospel of the Hebrews.

⁵ The Gospel of Thomas, statement 11. See Grant, *The Secret Sayings of Jesus*, p. 130.

THE BANQUET OF SENSE¹

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I USE the term "Banquet of Sense" to describe a theme in Renaissance art and literature: one of those patterns, literary and iconographical, that recur more frequently than is supposed; which import into the context in which they are found meanings that the modern eye can miss; and which can alter and deepen what seems to be the obvious significance of even familiar passages. It is permissible, since the publication of Curtius's book,² to call such elements *topoi*, though this strains the original rhetorical sense of the term. Perhaps the vaguer "theme" will serve. The expression "banquet of sense" is probably most familiar from the title of Chapman's poem *Ovids Banquet of Sence*, but that is one of the most difficult poems in the language, and I shall come to it last, when I have tried to provide some idea of what the theme implies in other contexts. It may be useful to consider first a familiar poem of which the structure, a very rigid one, is perhaps not generally understood, and which includes a rather full literary banquet of sense—Marvell's *Dialogue between the resolved Soul and Created Pleasure*.

This work is divided into two sections. In the first, the resolved soul, the true warfaring Christian, successfully resists a sensual temptation or trial. In the second he overcomes the temptations of women, wealth, glory and improper learning. In its entirety this scheme, rarely found in such purity, but also present in Spenser and in *Paradise Regain'd*, represents a totality of possible temptations: "Triumph, triumph, victorious Soul,

¹ A lecture delivered in the Library series of public lectures.

² *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. W. Trask, London, 1953.

The World has not one Pleasure more." At the back of this is the common interpretation of Luke iv. 13 as signifying that the temptations undergone by Christ in the desert included all that were possible, and so indicated to the Christian the whole strategy of the devil.¹ Translated to literature, and contaminated with the Renaissance myth of the Christianized Hercules, with help from St. Augustine in the discrimination between Christian and pagan Heroic Virtue, the theme of total temptation assumes the form given it by Marvell, and the defeat of sensual temptation is related to that of the Choice of Hercules. The rejection of Pleasure may take other forms (as, for example, those which imitate the refusal of Ulysses to drink of Circe's cup, so choosing Heroic Virtue; whereas those who drank of it fell into bestiality, called the opposite of Heroic Virtue in Aristotle's seminal Chapter, *Nicomachean Ethics*, VII. i). But Marvell chooses to open with a Banquet of Sense, properly rejected. The senses are treated in ascending order; from Taste and Touch, which operate only in direct contact with the object of sense; to Smell, which is a kind of mean between these and the higher senses, and to Sight and Hearing, the highest, which operate at a distance without contact. Then he proceeds to treat the other parts of the total temptation, until with its final temptation of forbidden learning rejected, the Soul completes its imitation of Christ.

The Banquet of Sense has both Christian and pagan sources. The Christian source is the passage on the Eucharist in I Corinthians x. Its interpretation was obviously of central spiritual and political importance in the seventeenth century. St. Paul speaks first of manna as a type of the Eucharist, observing that the backslidings of the Israelites in the desert teach us that, being allowed spiritual meat and drink, we should not "sit down" to unspiritual. Partakers of the body and blood of Christ, we should not with the Gentiles sacrifice to devils: "Ye cannot drink of the cup of the Lord, and the cup of devils; ye cannot be partakers of the Lord's table, and of the table of devils. . . .

¹ See Frank Kermode, "Milton's Hero", *R.E.S.* (n.s.) iv (1953), 317-30, and "The Cave of Mammon", *Elizabethan Poetry* (Stratford-upon-Avon Studies 2), London, 1960, pp. 151-73.

If any man say unto you, this is offered in sacrifice unto idols, eat not. Whether therefore ye eat, or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of the Lord." And in the same chapter is the assurance that God "will not suffer you to be tempted above that you are able". The direct use of this passage in devotional writing may be illustrated by Jeremy Taylor's recommendation of prayer before and after food so that we may "remove and carry up our mind and spirit to the celestial table, often thinking of it, and desiring it, that by enkindling thy desire to heavenly banquets, thou mayst be indifferent, and less passionate for the earthly".¹

The pagan shadow of the Eucharist is the banquet, or *Symposium*, of Plato; and its opposite, the shadow of the Pauline "table of devils", is "nature's banquet", or "the banquet of sense".² As a matter of fact, the easily achieved association of a sense-by-sense temptation with the tale of the temperate man's resistance to evil occurs very early, in the primal source of the Choice of Hercules motif, Xenophon's account of the myth told by the sophist Prodicus; *κάρκια* promises the young man ease and pleasure: "You shall taste all of life's sweets and escape all bitters. In the first place, you shall not trouble your brain with war or speculation; other topics shall engage your mind; your only speculation, what meat or drink you shall find agreeable to your palate; what delight of ear or eye; what pleasure of smell or touch; what darling lover's intercourse shall most enrapture you; how you shall pillow your limbs in the softest slumber; how cull each individual pleasure without alloy of pain."³ This treatment of the senses seems, however, to have been neglected by Xenophon's

¹ *Holy Living*, ii. 7. See also Colet on 1 Cor. xxii, "... at the table of the Lord the case is this, that the communicants of Christ are turned into him, whereas, at the table of the devils, they either change the devils unto themselves; or are changed into the devils" (*Colet's Lectures on 1 Corinthians*, ed. J. H. Lupton, London, 1874, p. 108). But Colet allegorizes: the good banquet is Scripture, the bad pagan learning.

² The two could have been associated by a recollection of the early Christian *ἀγάπη*, mentioned by Chrysostom (in 1 Cor. xi. 17, *Hom.* xxvii) and Tertullian (*Apol.* xxxix). It was familiar from religious controversy. See Hooker, *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, Preface, iv. 3; Everyman ed., London, 1907, i. 110-11, and in 3.

³ *The Works of Xenophon*, trans. Dakyns, (1890-7), iii (i) 4.

earlier imitators,¹ and to have been re-attached later to the theme of the temptation of Pleasure ; and then the senses were given a more regular sequence, so that, as a rule, good love proceeded from the highest senses up to intellect, and bad to the lowest sense, touch. In short, like Circe's cup, the natural temptations of the senses as represented in a banquet of sense serve to distinguish clearly between men who aspire to Heroic Virtue (or to the love of God) and men who sink into bestiality, preferring the creature to the Creator. The passage on the senses in Augustine's *Confessions* no doubt remained in people's minds : it is indeed echoed in Marvell's language.²

The schematic presentation of the senses as a group with clearly defined iconographical attributes relating to a banquet is a late invention.³ It does not seem to occur in Italian painting, though it is common in Netherlandish art, where it perhaps flourished by association with the popular theme of the Prodigal Son. Unluckily no art historian has provided a professional description of the material, and this is a very amateur account of the way it was used. An engraving by Adrian Collaert bears the legend : "Accipe homo quae quinque ferunt munera Sensus/Accipe, & oblatis prudentius utere donis ; /Ne te quos tibi cernis famularier ultro, /His famulum adfectus reddat mala suada cupido", emphasizing the need for temperance, lest the

¹ For example, Silius Italicus, *Punica* xv, where Scipio is tempted. Voluptas urges him to shun war, offering him ease instead. The argument of Virtus prevails: "quis aetheris servatur seminis ortus/coeli porta patet". Silius perhaps avoided the senses because in Book XI he had already shown the demoralizing effect of feasting and pleasure-seeking in Hannibal and his troops at Capua. For a complete history of the Prodician Choice from antiquity forward, see Erwin Panofsky, *Hercules am Scheidewege*, Berlin, 1930. Elizabethan treatments of the theme are discussed in Hallet Smith, *Elizabethan Poetry* (1952), p. 296. The statement that in England the theme was "ignored until it was made widely known by Shaftesbury's thesis" (W. Wells, *Leeds Art Calendar*, iii (1953), 27) is false.

² *Confessions* x. ii. et seq. Augustine on the pleasures of hearing ("his voluptates aurium tenacius me implicaverant et subiugaverant") may have suggested Marvell's "none can chain a mind That this sweet chordage cannot bind".

³ "Banquet" here has the usual sixteenth- and seventeenth-century sense of a light collation, not a main meal.

senses should become not servants but masters; for, in Chapman's favourite expression, "dati sunt sensus ad intellectum excitandum." The senses are "the five gates through which ideas and apprehensions enter to inhabit the soul", as Ripa puts it in his standard handbook.¹ The danger is that the gratification of the senses should become an end in itself, so that a sensual Voluptas is mistaken for the highest good. In the Collaert engraving the senses are given their symbolic attributes, more or less according to Ripa: Sight with a looking-glass held up to the banqueter, an eagle and a burning cresset; Hearing, with a lute and a fawn; Smell with flowers and a hunting-dog; Taste with a basket of fruit and a cup of wine, a fruit-eating monkey² above; Touch in contact with the banqueter and attended by falcon and tortoise, emblem of venereal pleasure. Touch is embraced by the diner, for whom Hearing is playing, and to whom Taste and Touch offer wine and flowers.

In Collaert the emphasis is on danger rather than on dissipation; sometimes the banquet setting seems little more than a way of treating pastime and good company, as in Teniers. But there is normally a moral in it. As a phase of the Prodigal Son story it is, of course, highly moralized by its context, even in so naturalistic a portrayal as Murillo's. On the whole the banqueter is in great danger, is being offered a seductive and disastrous benefit, like Circe's cup. Another way of putting the same case is in the ordinary Choice of Hercules: in the version of Annibale Carracci (called by Panofsky "canonical"), Virtue points to her height which is attained only by a steep road; on it stands a white horse, emblematic of Virtus, manly glory (sometimes it is Pegasus). She is supported by a figure with a Bible. Pleasure wears a revealing gown, and has about her emblems of idle delight—theatrical masks, instruments of music, and so on. There are innumerable variations, Virtue

¹ *Iconologia* (ed. of 1603) p. 499: "I cinque porti, per li quali entranno l'idee, & l'apprensioni ad habitar l'anima."

² For the pejorative association of monkeys with the sense of taste, see H. W. Janson, *Apes and Ape Lore in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (1952), pp. 239 ff.

shading over in Pallas, Pleasure into Venus.¹ An engraving after a lost picture by Peter Potter gives a christianized version : Hercules has become the Christian pilgrim choosing between Truth and the World, whom the devil inspires. The way of Truth, who carries a Bible, passes through a strait gate ; it is a *via crucis*, not a way of fame ; the angel stands by to crown the man who chooses right. The World offers pleasure and power ; an orb in her hair, at her feet the minted gold of wealth ; roses, drinking glasses, instruments, and a cushion represent the sensual appeal. Behind her one sees suggested orgies of various sorts, and behind them burning Sodom ; Death leads the dance with his drum. Now this takes us very near to a point where the Choice of Hercules and the Banquet of Sense come together ; and they do so in an anonymous etching after Sanraedam's Choice. Virtue, attired as Minerva, shows the hero a painting in which one distinguishes the virtues of Fortitude with her column, Justice with scales, Temperance with mixing bowl, and Charity with children. These are on the hill of Virtue. On the other, the hell side, is Vice, displaying a grotesque banquet of sense. The association of this theme with bestiality as opposed to heroic virtue is here extremely obvious. It is "nature's banquet"—to it Comus urges the Lady, and Satan Christ. The contrast, explicit in *Paradise Regain'd*, is with a heavenly banquet.

I come now to examples of the theme in English poetry, first in Ben Jonson, who uses it at least three times, first in Act IV of *Poetaster*. We hear of a "heavenly banquet" that Ovid arranges for his friends. Ovid in the play is a poet of talent, but dangerously immoral, and strongly contrasted with Horace whom, a little earlier, we have heard commending the frugal feasts of Scipio Africanus. We see that the term "heavenly banquet" is a deliberate irony ; the company, drawn from a loose aristocracy and a court-aping merchant class, dress up as gods and goddesses. Ovid, playing Jove, proclaims that, "of his licentious goodness", he is "willing to make the feast no

¹ Shaftesbury says "the shape, countenance, and person" of Pallas may be given to Virtue and those of Venus to Pleasure. (*Characteristicks* [1714], iii. 364).

fast from any manner of pleasure " (iv. v. 15-17). The party takes its rather lascivious course, until music is called for ; there is a song, and then another, " to revive our senses " (207). The object of this song, we gather, is :

To celebrate this feast of sense,
As free from scandall, as offence.
Here is beautie, for the eye;
For the eare, sweet melodie;
Ambrosiack odours, for the smell;
Delicious nectar for the taste;
For the touch, a ladies waste;
Which doth all the rest excell! (212-19)

The banquet is interrupted by the arrival of the Emperor Augustus, who is shocked by the blasphemous representation of the gods in pursuit of sensual pleasure ; Ovid as a poet, with all the special responsibilities of a poet, is particularly to blame.

O who shall follow virtue and embrace her,
When her false bosome is found nought but aire?
Who shall, with greater comfort, comprehend
Her unseen being, and her excellence,
When you, that teach, and should eternize her,
Live, as shee were no law unto your lives?
(iv. vi. 40-7)

The association of Ovid with the Banquet theme has no source in the poet himself, and must have arisen from Chapman or from the more emancipated reading of the *Ars Amatoria* and *Amores*. The writers of Elizabethan epyllia had gained a certain new freedom in erotic expression ; Ovid seems to have become a sort of counter-Plato ; and the formal opposition between the two could be expressed very economically in the contrast between the Banquet of Sense and the Banquet of Heavenly Love derived from the *Symposium*.

The clearest example of this collocation is also to be found in Jonson's late play, *The New Inn*. Lovel, " a complete gentleman, a soldier, and a scholar is a melancholy guest " in the New Inn where are also found the supposed Lady Frampul and her servants. Prudence, the chambermaid, is elected " sovereign of the sports " at the inn, and she sets up a court of love at which Lovel woos Frances, the supposed Lady, by giving her a full exposition of the true Florentine Art of Love. But Lord Beaufort, a less scholarly gentleman, is seized with an un-

Platonic desire for Laetitia, and in this the contrast resides. Lovel delivers a fairly pure version of some passages in the *Symposium*, modified by Ficino's Commentary upon it. First he is asked to define Love :

..... by description,
It is a flame, and ardor of the minde,
Dead, in the proper corps, quick in anothers;
Trans-ferres the Lover into the Loved . . .
It is the likenesse of affections,
Is both the parent, and the nurse of love.
Love is a spirituall coupling of two soules,
So much more excellent, as it least relates
Unto the body . . .

(III. ii. 95-102)

But Lord Beaufort disagrees :

I relish not these philosophicall feasts;
Give me a banquet o' sense, like that of *Ovid*:
A forme, to take the eye; a voyce, mine eare;
Pure *aromatiques* to my sent; a soft,
Smooth, deinty hand, to touch; and, for my taste,
Ambrosiack kisses to melt downe the palat. (III. ii. 125-30)

Here the Plato-Ovid opposition is as clear as anyone could wish and here too the association of the banquet with Ovid and sensual love is so casual as to seem conventional. It is interesting to note that Jonson was disgusted at the failure of this play, and clearly did not believe that its inner meanings were beyond the scope of the common reader, whom he addresses thus : " If thou canst but spell, and join my sense, there is more hope of thee than of a hundred fastidious impertinents who were there present the first day, yet never made piece of their prospects in the right way "—as we should say, never got the right angle on it.¹ The theme was less esoteric than we might suppose.

Beaufort's praise of Ovidian love, of the anti-Platonic Banquet, is at once censured by Lovel ; those who indulge it, he says

Are the earthly, lower forme of lovers,
Are only taken with what strikes the senses!
And love by that loose scale. (III. ii. 131-3)

The distinction is basically that between the two Aphrodites of the *Symposium*—Lovel speaks for Ourania, Beaufort for

¹ It may be noted that Chapman uses precisely this figure in his Preface to *Ovids Banquet of Sence*.

Pandemos, illustrating his case with kisses stolen from Laetitia, which are qualitatively very different from that formal, licensed, Platonic kiss, mixture of souls,¹ which is to be Lovel's reward from Lady Frampul. We may, says Lovel, be attracted by "what's fair and graceful in an object"; but love must seek out the soul within, that which "can love me again", return love—the Anteros complementary to Eros.

Lovel: My end is lost in loving of a face,
 An eye, lip, nose, hand, foot or other part,
 Whose all is but a statue, if the mind
 Move not, which only can make returne.
 The end of love is, to have two made one
 In will, and in affection, that the mindes
 Be first inoculated, not the bodies.

Beaufort: Gi' me the body, if it be a good one. (III. ii. 148-55)

Lovel censures this remark; Beaufort's kind of love is

A mere degenerate appetite,
 A lost, oblique, deprav'd affection,
 And beares no marke, or character of Love;
 (III. ii. 168-70)

and he concludes with a plea for purity, making the absence of sensuality a condition of true love. The words in which Lady Frampul signifies her approval sum up the whole theme:

O speake, and speake for ever! let mine eare
 Be feasted still, and filled with this banquet!
 No sense can ever surfeit on such truth! (III. ii. 201-3)

There is in this passage a clear and formal distinction between the two banquets of love. One is divine, one natural; one uplifting, one degenerate; one a banquet of the soul, which employs the senses properly, as agents of the mind; the other a

¹ "All chaste lovers covet a kisse, as a coupling of soules together. And therefore Plato the devine lover saith, that in kissing, his soull came as far as his lippes to depart out of the bodie" (Castiglione, *The Courtier*, trans. Hoby, Everyman edn., 1928, p. 315). For kissing in cult-Platonism, see Nesca A. Robb, *Neoplatonism of the Italian Renaissance* (1935), p. 191. The Lovel-Beaufort opposition in Jonson may have taken from *trattati d'amore*, perhaps indeed from *The Courtier*, where Bembo's exposition of Platonic love is interrupted by the sardonic comments of Morello, who thinks that "the possessing of this beauteie which he prayseth so much, without the bodie, is a dreame" (*ed. cit.* p. 307). Also Lovel is an older man, than Beaufort, which is again part of Castiglione's position.

banquet of sense which can only corrupt, which is a yielding to Voluptas or degrading natural pleasure rather than the food of the soul.¹

Jonson does not allow the high-minded view all its own way, and there may be ironic references to the cult-Platonism of the contemporary court ; but this need not prevent us from tracing back the banquet-debate to a philosophical source in Ficino's Commentary on the *Symposium*.²

Ficino distinguishes Venus Ourania and Venus Pandemos. The former is divine beauty, the object of the love of the contemplatives, belonging to the sphere of Mind. The latter is the vulgar or natural Venus, Venus Genetrix, the associate of the *anima mundi* ; the force that urges men to procreate, and so to continue the earthly simulacra of divine beauty. The former is " quella intelligenza, la quale nella Mente Angelica ponemmo " (that intelligence we attribute to the Angelic Mind) ; " l'altra e la forza del generare, all'Anima di Mondo attribuita " (the other is the generative power we attribute to the Soul of the World). Venus Vulgaris, though baser than the other because it finds satisfaction through the senses and the fancy, is not evil. But there is a third kind of love, which Ficino, as a physician, considers a form of madness, and calls " bestial love ".³ This is not properly love at all, and should not be called by " il sacratissimo nome di Amore ". It is merely an affair of the senses. About this kind of love we hear most in the Sixth and Seventh Orations ; Tommaso Benci introduces it thus :

Da queste celesti vivande adunque state discosto,
state discosto, o empj; i quali involti nelle fecce
terrene, e al tutto a Bacco, e a Priapo divoti, lo
Amore, che e dono celeste, abbassate in terra e in
loto a uso di porci. Ma voi, castissimi convitate, etc.

¹ Jonson again returns to the Banquet of Sense in his *Loves Welcome. The King and Queenes Entertainment at Bolsover* (1634), where it is combined with the myth of Eros and Anteros (*Works*, ed. Hereford and Simpson, vii. 807 ff.).

² This influential work, written in Latin in 1474, reports the remarks of seven Platonists of the Medici circle on the *Symposium*, supposed to have been made at the annual banquet on Plato's reputed birthday (7 November). The text used here is Ficino's own Italian translation (ed. Rensi, 1914).

³ For Ficino's differences from Pico della Mirandola on this point, see Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology* (1939), p. 144.

Throughout the book there is, of course, a strong association of heavenly love with the Banquet of Plato's work, "il quale e Convito di Amore intitolato". Further, the three kinds of love correspond to the three ways of life; Celestial Love to the Contemplative Life, Terrestrial Love to the Active Life, Bestial Love to the Voluptuous Life. If a man chooses the last of these, there is a sudden fall "dal vedere . . . nella concupiscenza del tatto". Such a fall indicates vileness and dishonour; but those who do not so fall "pascendosi eglino delle vere vivande dell'Animo, s'empione più e con più tranquillità amano". What can be worse than that a man should fall thus? Through such madness he becomes a beast. "Il vero Amore non e altro che un certo forza di volare à la divina bellezza. Lo Amore adulterato e una rovina da'l vedere à'l tatto."

Ficino draws these strong contrasts between the extremes of bestial and heavenly love with reference to the banquet—the banquet of heavenly love—which the man who abandons himself to voluptuousness is giving up. Bestial love involves this collapse from the highest to the lowest of the senses, from sight to touch; for, in Ficino's work, the senses exist in a fixed hierarchy which he explains as follows:

Il senso per li cinque sentimenti del suo corpo sente le immagini è qualità de corpi, i colori per gli occhi, per gli orecchi le voci, gli odori per il naso, per la lingua i sapori, per i nervi le qualità semplici degli Elementi . . . Si che quanto appartiene al nostro proposito, sei potenza della Anima . . . La ragione si assomiglia à Dio, il Viso al fuoco. l'Udito all'aria, l'Odorato à Vapori, il Gusto all'acqua, è il Tatto alla terra.

Reason, which seeks the Celestial, has no seat in the body; Sight, as the noblest of the senses, is placed highest in it. Next come Hearing and Smell, and then Taste and Touch, corresponding to the lowest of the elements. Counting reason as a sense, three senses appertain to Body and Matter, and three to the Soul. Reason, Sight and Hearing nourish the Soul; Touch, Taste and Smell the body.¹

Questa grazia di virtù, figura, o voce, che chiamo lo animo à se e rapisce per il mezzo della ragione, viso e audito, rettamente si chiama Bellezza. Queste sono

¹ Aristotle (*De Anima* II. vi-xii) establishes the order Vision-Hearing-Smell-Taste-Touch; in *De Sensu* (441a) he calls taste a form of touch, which may explain why in literary treatment the order of these two is sometimes reversed.

quelle tre Grazie di li quali così parlò Orfeo; Splendore, Veridità, è Letizia abbondante.

The intellect, vision and hearing are concerned with beauty, and so alone have to do with love ; the others are concerned with the opposite of beauty and bring about the collapse into the badness of touch.

Love is engendered in the eye ; this is the first step in his progress towards the divine, un-material condition, through the stages which are familiar from Castiglione and Spenser's *Hymns*. The Imagination idealises the beauty sensed ; the Reason interprets it, seeing it as a type not of visual but of moral beauty, and finally relates it to the one universal truth and beauty, which completes the " spiritual circuit " of the emanation and return of beauty to its source, a basic theme in Ficino and in philosophers and poets such as Spenser, who follow him. But if this primary ocular impression makes one yield to a desire to gratify the lower senses, and in particular Taste and Touch, that is the " love " that turns man into beast ; the love symbolized, for example, in the story of Circe. In contradistinction to the Banquet of Intellect, or Heavenly Love, the gratification of the lower soul is justly represented as a voluptuous feast, a debauch of created pleasure, a banquet of sense.

It is now, I think, clear that Jonson expected to see his Court of Love scene as an exercise in this " topic ". It occurs, less schematically, in other plays, for example in Massinger's *A New Way to pay Old Debts* (III. i), where the Prodician Hercules is associated with the formal scheme of temptation. This use is merely episodic. In the exceptionally interesting academic play *Lingua* (1602-3?) attributed to Thomas Tomkis, there is an extended allegory concerning the senses which appear with standard allegorical attributes : one of them must be shown to be best ; a crown is awarded to Visus and a vote to Tactus, which decision is celebrated in a banquet given by Gustus which reduces all the senses to wild and brutal uselessness.

Thirty years later Randolph alludes to the topic in *The Muses Looking-Glass*, in the speech of Acolastus, " a voluptuous epicure ", which is balanced by that of Anaisthetus, representing

the other of two extremes between which Temperance is a mean. (Colax, the flatterer, applauds them both, the first in a speech which, failing to discriminate between the senses, and between satisfaction and indulgence, has been preposterously attributed to Randolph's own "Cyrenaic" philosophy by those who suppose that Milton was "answering" him in *Comus*.) The casualness of such allusions to the Banquet proves the currency of the idea;¹ and it is not surprising to find that Shakespeare used it more than once.

In a simple form it occurs in Sonnet 141:

In faith I do not love thee with mine eyes,
For they in thee a thousand errors note;
But 'tis my heart that loves what they despise,
Who in despite of view is pleas'd to dote,
Nor are mine ears with thy tongue's tune delighted,
Nor tender feeling to base touches prone;
Nor taste nor smell desire to be invited
To any sensual feast with thee alone.

The senses are treated in order (eye and ear first, smell, taste and touch, the lower triad, last) and followed in the eighth line, as it were inevitably, by the expression "sensual feast". The theme recurs also in *Timon of Athens*. Timon's honour and nobility, much insisted upon, are firmly associated with his bounty and his lavish entertainments. There are two banquets in the play. At the first, Timon says grace, and a masquer dressed as Cupid enters to announce the arrival of his fellow-masquers.

Hail to thee, worthy Timon, and to all
That of his bounties taste! The five best Senses
Acknowledge thee their patron, and come freely
To gratulate thy plenteous bosom. The Ear,
Taste, Touch, Smell, pleas'd from thy table rise;
They only now come but to feast thine eyes.

And he introduces "a masque of Ladies as *Amazons*, with lutes

¹ Compare the absence of detail in Harington's marginal note on Ariosto's account of the behaviour of Ruggiero ("this new Hercules") with Alcina: "This lascivious description of carnall pleasure needs not offend the chaste eares or thoughts of any, but rather shame the unchast, that have themselves been at such kind of bankets" (*Orlando Furioso in English Heroical Verse*, 2nd edn., 1634, p. 409). Ruggiero yields all to the sense of touch, and is debased as Hercules was by Omphale.

in their hands, dancing and playing", who feast the eyes of Timon. There seems no doubt that this little entertainment is intended as part of that acute unspoken criticism of Timon's misconception of Honour and Nobility which runs through the finely composed early scenes of the play. At the second banquet, when Timon understands his self-deceit, and is about to meet the consequence of his having so mistaken the nature of Honour, he offers his guests, with a misanthropic grace, dishes containing nothing but warm water—without smell, taste or colour—in token of his awareness that he had been wrong to calculate Honour in terms of gold and the sensuous delights it makes available. Timon is wrong about Magnanimity; failing in Heroic Virtue he sinks to bestiality.

In *Venus and Adonis* Venus has many of the attributes of Voluptas or Vice tempting the young man. Her rival is not Pallas but the martial sport of hunting. The splendid horse represents the active life, military virtue, as in Rubens's *Choice of Hercules* in the Uffizi. Adonis wants to hunt the dangerous boar not the timid hare. But Venus assails him as the Voluptas-figure assails Hercules in some Baroque "Choices"—and the breaking away of the horse allows it to be used as an emblem of "natural" desire. The bridle, as we see in the Rubens picture and in Shaftesbury's study of the theme, is an emblem of Temperance; under its control the horse was Manly Virtue, without it, natural lust. The hare likewise has a double function; it is not merely that which Adonis is ashamed to hunt, but also, as often iconographically, a symbol of voluptuousness. (When Venus, lost in the labyrinth of passion, rushes about the world in search of Adonis, her movements are described in language that deliberately recalls the passage about the hare.) If we are in doubt about the kind of love advocated by this Venus, there is a Banquet of Sense to satisfy us. Adonis has spoken, though coldly after long silence.

What! canst thou talk? quoth she, Hast thou a tongue?
O would thou hadst not, or I had no hearing!
Thy mermaid's voice hath done me double wrong;
I had my load before, now press'd with bearing;
Melodious discord, heavenly tune harsh sounding,
Ear's deep-sweet music, and heart's deep-sore wounding.

Had I no eyes but ears, my ears would love
 That inward beauty and invisible;
 Or were I deaf, thy outward parts would move
 Each part in me that were but sensible.

Though neither eyes nor ears, to hear nor see,
 Yet should I be in love by touching thee.

Say that the sense of feeling were bereft me,
 And that I could not see, nor hear, nor touch,
 And nothing but the very smell were left me,
 Yet would my love to thee be still as much;
 For from the stillitory of thy face excelling
 Comes breath perfum'd, that breedeth love by smelling.

But O, what banquet wert thou to the taste,
 Being nurse and feeder of the other four!

This scheme is worked out with great care ; it is perfectly proper that the ear should apprehend and love the inward beauty, having the power to do so only to a lesser extent than the eye—in fact, some would have called it the superior organ—but after that the sensual stimuli mentioned by Venus are all blind and deaf. A love which is “ still as much ” without the action of eye and ear, which can subsist on the lower senses, is bestial love. She comes finally to taste, which supports only the body, and calls Adonis a banquet to the taste alone. The implied contrast with true love and the true convivium of love is firmly established.¹

¹ There are also allusions to the theme in *Antony and Cleopatra*. They suggest the use of banquets for the temptation of the “ new Hercules ” of Renaissance epic. There is a conflict, taken over from Plutarch, between heroic virtue and sensuality; and Shakespeare is at pains to emphasize the Herculean aspect of Antony. Plutarch says “ he was thought to be descended from one Anton, the sonne of Hercules ”, and adds, “ this opinion did Antonius seeke to confirme in all his doings ”, (*North's Plutarch* [Tudor Translations, 1896], vi. 4). In the comparison with Demetrius he says that Antony at the mercy of Cleopatra resembled Hercules made effeminate by Omphale (vi. 91). (Cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, II. vi. 21–3.) The portents of Antony's fall include the striking by lightning of the Temple of Hercules in Patras (vi. 13). Shakespeare stresses the Herculean side of Antony (I. iii. 84; I. v. 23, where “ demi-Atlas ” means “ the substitute of Atlas ”; IV. xii. 43–7) to the degree that he converts the god who deserts Hercules (IV. iii. 12–17) from Plutarch's Bacchus into Hercules, and makes no mention of Bacchus, though to Plutarch's Antony he was at least as important as Hercules. Octavius makes it clear that Antony was familiar with the hard Prodician road to glory (I. iv. 55–64); but he prefers to Roman *gravitas* that Egypt which is represented throughout as gluttonous feasting and sensual indulgence. Shakespeare also stresses the connections between Cleopatra and Venus, which Plutarch had also foreshadowed; but for him Cleopatra in the barge

Before undertaking Chapman's poem it may be useful to have a summary of the theme as it occurs elsewhere. The Platonic Banquet represents love, the ascent from sense to the higher powers of the soul, and ultimately the apprehension of the divine beauty. The Banquet of Sense represents a descent from sight to the senses capable of only material gratification—what Ficino calls "bestial love". Theologically the parallel is with the Eucharist and the "devil's table"; and sometimes this Christian sense is very active, as when Bembo rejects sense in order to achieve "the feast of angels".¹ There are distinctions that ought to have been introduced, had space permitted; the body must be served, and Renaissance Platonism made provision for the service of the terrestrial Venus, witness the treatises of Leone Ebreo and Mario Equicola, among others.² But in general the Banquet of Sense is not regarded as a good thing, and is concerned with love of the counter-Platonic or Ovidian variety. The blandishments it represents are trials to be overcome. Is it so or otherwise used by Chapman? To find out it is necessary to "passe through Corynnas Garden"³ with the aid of such lanterns as may be had. The Dedication seems to promise deliberate obscurity, but clarity at the heart of the matter. Poetry must not be as plain as oratory. With that appeal to the sister-art which renaissance criticism had made habitual, Chapman compares the poetical presentation of his theme with the painter's use of technical devices to give his work a depth and vitality impossible to mere outlines; his skill will be evident to the trained observer. It is with this controlled obscurity that Chapman intends to compose; the trained auditor, he says, will

is Venus coming "to play with the god Bacchus" (vi. 25); for Shakespeare she is Venus approaching to betray Hercules.

¹ *The Courtier*, ed. cit., p. 322.

² Equicola, for instance, defends corporeal pleasure and glorifies the sense of touch (*Libro di natura d'amore* (1525), pp. 297-8, 165, 170). Marino (*Adone*, viii) echoes this, calling Touch the superior of the other senses, and copulation "il primo godimento della voluttà". For the Epicurean element in Renaissance Platonism see D. C. Allen, "The Rehabilitation of Epicurus in the early Renaissance", *S.P.* XIV (1944), 1-5; Edgar Wind, *Pagan Mysteries of the Renaissance* (1958), especially Chap. V; A. J. Smith, "The Metaphysic of Love", *R.E.S.* n.s. ix (1958), 362-75.

³ Dedication, in *Poems*, ed. P. B. Bartlett (1941), p. 60.

have means to "sound the philosophical conceits". In the "Justification" of *Andromeda Liberata* (Bartlett, p. 327) he nevertheless claims a poet's right to "Ambiguity in the sence".

It would appear that the story of Ovid in Julia's garden, the fiction which does the "varying" of the "Schema", is intended to adorn and give utility, or affective force, to the philosophic material. Now the scheme is a treatment of the senses in descending order: first, the three which act through a medium, without contact with what is sensed, and then taste and touch, the senses of necessity, which in the Ficinian scheme are base and do not affect the higher soul at all. Although Chapman heretically treats Visus third in order and ignores the intermediate position given to Gustus in the orthodox scale, the scheme of the poem, as Bush pointed out,¹ presumably derives ultimately from Ficino, and should, as we have seen, be concerned with the collapse of the soul into bestiality, the descent to Tactus. It is therefore strange that Chapman should write in his fiction an apparent glorification of the sensual stimulation of the counter-Plato, Ovid.

My own view is that this is ironical; that Chapman is here portraying the Ovid whom Apollo called "lasciui . . . praeceptor Amoris" (*Ars Amatoria*, ii. 497). It must be confessed that a theory which treats the poem as having a persistent irony blended with its didactic tone makes it even more difficult, but that is no reason, in the case of Chapman, for rejecting the theory. It is an objection, certainly, that Chapman complained, in *The Shadow of Night*, of "fleshly interpretations" of myth, and preferred the older moralized Ovid: but this can be met, I think, by asserting his hostility to the contemporary erotic mythological genre exemplified by *Venus and Adonis*. Shakespeare's poem has a moral scheme cast into a fiction which is erotic in tone; but it betrays its "matter" by playing up the comic and erotic elements for their own sakes. It is this kind of subtle subversion of morality that Marston makes a show of objecting to in *Pygmalions Image*. Chapman, in *Ovids Banquet*, turns the screw once more and restores the "utility" of the poetry. He too has an erotic fiction in support of a philosophical scheme; but that scheme is itself an ironical sham, a learned

¹ *Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition* (1934) p. 204.

defence by Ovid (the Ovid of the Elizabethan epyllion) of the counter-Platonic Banquet, the Ovidian Banquet of sophisticated sensual indulgence.

But this is not the opinion of Chapman's commentators, despite the fact that his hostility to the erotic sense and to Shakespeare has long been suspected on other grounds. Miss J. Spens, one of the pioneers, holds that "Chapman's subject is the sublimation of the senses", and even considers whether Julia is not "merely a name for what Shelley called Intellectual Beauty"; she thinks that Chapman's purpose is "to reach a spiritual ecstasy by means of the senses". Miss M. C. Bradbrook explains that Chapman evokes "a scene of extreme sensual delight only to reject the expected conclusions and to present his Ovid and Julia as models of Platonic chastity, who could extract all the delights of the senses without succumbing to their lure". And she quotes in support of this view, which seems to me frankly untenable, stanzas 35 and 36, without observing that they are spoken by Ovid and not by Chapman *in propria persona*. Mr. Hallett Smith is more cautious, and reminds us of the rejections of erotic poetry in the *Coronet for his Mistress Philosophy*, published with *Ovids Banquet*; but he so far supports Miss Spens and Miss Bradbrook as to say that "Chapman rejects the idea that heaven can only be gained by labours of the soul and of continence", which is certainly not what is meant by stanza 63. M. Jean Jacquot sees the difficulty, but argues that the apparently contradictory attitudes of the poet in *The Shadow of Night* and *Ovids Banquet* find their reconciliation in Platonism, and argues for Chapman's adherence to a Platonic scheme exalting a sensual ecstasy of the sort some writers find in Donne's "Extasy"; but I think he ends with a reconciliation of opposites impossible even to sixteenth-century Platonism when he says that "Corinna représente à la fois la Vénus céleste et la Vénus terrestre dont parle Platon".¹ If this is so we may as well give Chapman up as hopeless.

¹ *Essays and Studies*, xi (1925), 159; *Shakespeare and Elizabethan Poetry* (1951), p. 19; *Elizabethan Poetry* (1952), p. 97; *George Chapman, sa vie, sa poésie, son théâtre, sa pensée* (1951), pp. 65, 67-8, 227, 252; E. Rees (*The Tragedies of Chapman*, 1954) calls the poem "a tortured attempt to reconcile the sensual with the spiritual" (p. 21).

One does not forget that there was a strain of Florentine Neo-Platonism, sponsored by Leone Ebreo, which condoned sensual indulgence to a degree beyond what Ficino (in whom of course the senses have their place as excitants of the mind) would have countenanced. But even if Chapman, on the evidence improbably, did subscribe to this how is the *Coronet* to be read? As a palinode? For his own *Banquet* would then have to be regarded as the product of "Muses that sing loues sensuall Emperie".

The truth is surely that Chapman cannot be writing the kind of poem he obviously and explicitly deplored, and against which he writes in the *Coronet*.¹ His love, Philosophy, "teaches by passion what perfection is . . . all powre and thought of pridefull lust depriuing".

Her mind (the beam of God) draws in the fires
Of her chaste eyes, from all earths tempting fewell.

He takes Ovid, for the present purpose, as the master of lascivious arts and Julia as a libertine. (How, incidently, could this lady, of all ladies, represent Intellectual Beauty?) Ovid, in fact, is the counter-Plato, and Julia his sensual banquet, his anti-convivium. What we are told of, despite the curious fictional disguise, is the Circean fall into bestiality. This is the Ovid of Johnson's *Poetaster*; an Ovid associated not only with blasphemous banquets, but with the view that love is of the blood, not of the soul (iv. ix. 31ff.)

There is no question there that Ovid's views are reprehensible; and indeed the *Poetaster* as a whole is concerned to establish that Ovid desecrates poetry and truth; a condemnation which, as Mr. A. H. King has shown, includes the "Ovidians", poets of the period.² I am certain that if we hold on to this clue we shall get somewhere near the sense of Chapman's poem.

¹ Cf. *Hero and Leander* (Sestiad iii, 35), "Joy grauen in sence, like snow in water wasts"; the passage on the avoidance of "vulgare Raptures" in *Euthymisæ Raptus* (ll. 504-24); and the distinction between two poetic "furies"—one divine, the other degenerately human—in the Dedication of the *Odysseys* to Somerset (Bartlett, p. 408). These all suggest that Chapman would have used the Banquet scheme with the normal moral value. See also the congratulatory poems preceding *Ovids Banquet of Sence*.

² *The Language of the Satirized Characters in Jonson's "Poetaster"* (Lund Studies in English, x, 1941).

Ovid's treatment of each sense in turn is, basically, Aristotelian, with the usual accretions ; for the most part it is not much unlike what a Renaissance Platonist might have said. But the object of his argument is, in the narrative context, to convince himself of the rightness of, and to persuade Julia to, sexual indulgence. In doing so he is abusing learning, as, on the view probably held by Chapman, the Shakespeare of *Venus and Adonis* was doing ; for *Venus and Adonis* is also full of morality, but it is an erotic poem, and read as such ; it had a contemporary reputation as a " luscious marrowbone pie ", an aphrodisiac dangerous to women.

In fact, Jonson, as M. Jacquot has seen, uses another *topos* ; this is associated with seduction, and cannot very well be associated with anything else. Laumonier thought the scheme must have originated with a troubadour ; but Curtius traces its origin to Donatus's commentary on Terence, *Eunuchus* iv. ii. 10 : " Quinque lineae sunt amoris, scilicet visus, allocutio, tactus, osculum sive suavius, coitus ". Sometimes " partes " replaces " lineae ". The *topos* is of frequent occurrence in medieval Latin verse and the theme was still in use by French poets of the sixteenth century, including Marot and Ronsard. It turns up in the well-known song of " Come again, sweet love doth now invite ", with the usual pun on " die ", which here means what the French politely called the " don de mercy ", the last part of love ;

To see, to speak, to touch, to kiss, to die
With thee again in sweetest sympathy.

Professor Baldwin finds it in *Venus and Adonis*.¹

¹ See P. Laumonier, *Ronsard, poète lyrique* (1909), p. 514; J. Hutton, " Spenser and the *Cinq Points en Amour* ", *M.L.N.* lvii (1942), 657-61 ; E. Curtius, op. cit. pp. 512 ff.; T. W. Baldwin, *The Literary Genetics of Shakespeare's Poems and Sonnets*, (1950), p. 16; A. Adler, " The *topos quinque lineae amoris* as used by Ronsard ", *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et de la Renaissance*, xv (1953), 220-5. Curtius mistakenly reports (p. 514, n. 10) that Doutrepoint, *Jean Lemaire de Belges et la Renaissance* (1934), gives Annus as a source for *Illustrations de Gaule*, i. 25, which contains the *topos*. He takes as a chapter reference what is in fact a page reference to Stecher's edition of Lemaire (1882). Doutrepoint gives no source for the *cinq points* as used in the *Illustrations*; his reference to Ubertin's edition of the *Heroides* as the general source of the twenty-fifth chapter is not relevant to the present issue.

It is interesting that this *topos* is also used in the *Illustrations de Gaule* of Jean Lemaire des Belges (1509–12); for there are in that work hints also of the scheme of the Banquet of Sense. This was noticed by Schoell (as reported by Miss Bartlett, *ed.cit.* p. 431) and M. Jacquot pursued the line of enquiry. The *Illustrations* describes how Paris (associated, by the way, with the wrong choice of the voluptuous life) meets at the side of a fountain a nymph who offers him a banquet of fruits. We are told, with considerable learning, how his (higher) senses are ravished by her; and then the scheme passes into an exposition of the five degrees of love—"le regard, le parler, l'attouchement, le baiser; Et le dernier qui est le plus désiré, et auquel tous les autres tendent, pour finale resolution . . ." The "don de mercy" is granted, and the nymph "soccombe volontairement sur les tapis verts de l'herbe".¹ Now it is clear, allowing for the same degree of variation in the order of the *lineae amoris* that we have seen already in these examples, that from the moment when Ovid sees Corinna, and she him, the course of the poem, by accident or design, follows this scheme. He speaks, he kisses, he touches; and he does not die only because some "other Dames" (116) interrupt him. Chapman explicitly informs us that in this case we shall have to take the will for the deed; "intentio animi actio", he concludes. It would appear that Chapman deliberately conflates the schemes of Banquet and *lineae*, and that this is on the whole evidence that Ovid's intention is not, *au fond*, Platonic.

Corinna's garden contains a fountain with an elaborate piece of statuary erected by Augustus, and consisting of a statue of Niobe which he had brought from Mount Sipylus, so named after one of Niobe's sons. As Schoell pointed out, the description of the statue as a rock which looked like a woman only from a distance, is lifted out of Comes' account of Pausanias' description of the rock *in situ*; what is more important is that Chapman has invented the story of Augustus transferring it to this garden and surrounding it with statues of Niobe's fourteen children (3–5). He also adds the obelisks representing Apollo and Artemis, with an optical device by means of which they seem

¹ *Oeuvres* ed. Stecher, i. 177 ff.; Jacquot, *op. cit.* p. 66.

eternally to be wreaking their vengeance on the children, on whose marble breasts they throw purple shadows. (These divinities, as children of the Titaness Leto, killed Niobe's children because she boasted equality with Leto on account of their number.) Now Niobe signifies presumption, as her father Tantalus signifies the abuse of knowledge. There is a Florentine engraving dated 1541, of Apollo and Latona striking the Niobides, with the legend "Discite quam nulli tutum contemnere divos".¹

This group, then, has the moral intention of warning mortals against presumption; and it is unlikely to be a coincidence that, as we are explicitly told, Augustus went to the trouble of having it put where the poem says it is.² We also know the tradition that Augustus deplored the libertinism of Ovid, and outlawed him for it. The statue is there to warn Ovid off; it is caution against the rash act we see him about to commit. I do not see why we should forget that Julia did grant the "don de mercy", and that Ovid suffered in consequence the wrath of the divine emperor. Then why is Corinna referred to as "this Romaine *Phoebe*"? Because the tears of Niobe fall upon her; or because Ovid is behaving like Actaeon. A little earlier (8) she is compared to Venus.

Corinna's garden is a paradise of pleasure; but this in itself, like the fountain in which Corinna bathes, is a two-handed emblem. The nature of the garden depends upon the character of Corinna herself, and I take it as a dangerous *hortus deliciarum*.

Having bathed, Corinna takes her lute and sings (12). Her song is not at all easy to follow, but the sense of it is something like this: It is better to despise than to love. It is also better to be beautiful than to be wise, because it is through the sense of sight that the souls of admirers are to be won rather than through any intellectual sympathy. The eagle of Jove (signifying perspicacity in Comes, II. i, as well as natural supremacy) is taken by the dove of Venus (universally accepted as a symbol of

¹ See Rodolfo Lanciani, *Il gruppo dei Niobidi nel giardino di Sallustio* (1906), p. 24.

² Augustus had, in the Renaissance, a reputation as a maker of pithy mottoes, based on the report (Aulus Gallius, *Noctes Atticae* x. xi; Erasmus, *Adagia*, s.v.—with increasing emphasis in succeeding editions) of his having invented the motto *festina lente*.

lust). It is a woman's right and privilege to enjoy the mischievous transformations wrought by beauty. This magic makes men follow them more the more they flee, as destiny follows the man who flies it; and it enables foolish woman to be praised as wise (because the man wastes his learning in the praise and pursuit of her, as Ovid is about to do) and also to mock the man for this waste of wisdom. In love, he calls female beauty wise, which is like calling profaneness holy; just as he tries to show that mere natural desire is a solemn matter of fate, and human wisdom mere foolishness because it is against this sort of love. I am not sure that I have construed the last part right, and "Nature, our fate" may have some connection with the Theophrastian quotation in the Margin at stanza 84: "Natura est uniuscuiusque Fatum". (Chapman also uses "fate" sometimes to mean "character" or "disposition".) But this does not affect the truth that the song of Corinna is a very improper song for Intellectual Beauty to sing, and would come better from a cultivated courtesan, which, of course, is nearer to the usual idea of Julia.

Ovid, who does not yet know that Corinna is going to be "mercifull" (13), overhears the song, and is immediately down to his ears in love: "loues holy streame Was past his eyes, and now did wett his eares" (14). He moralizes this with great expense of wit and learning. His hearing, he says, is "sette on fire With an immortall ardor" and the music "My spirits to theyr highest function reares" (17). This is unexceptionable, and so, one supposes, is Ovid's desire to transfer his life into the inventive faculty of his lady, as the intellect passes into what it apprehends. So, he says, his life could be exhausted in harmony:

Thus sense were feasted,
My life that in my flesh a Chaos is
Should to a Golden Worlde be thus dygested. (25)

This is the golden world imposed upon chaos at the creation by the "deus et melior natura" of the opening lines of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. A divine, harmonious, principle of order reduced the microcosmic chaos to the same unexampled happiness and regularity. All this, says Ovid in his conceit, would happen if I could inhabit the harmony of her invention. It is a

harmless wish. Indeed the section on Hearing is for the most part an exceptionally brilliant set of variations on the "laus musicae", which would go quite well into any true *convivium*, though perhaps there is sufficient learned amorous hyperbole to hint that even here the presumptuous and wrongly-learned Ovid is sophisticating this knowledge and applying it to bad ends. The song ended, we are told that its accents "in this Banquet his first service were" (30).

The second service is Smell (31-40). The delicacy and power of this "course of Odors" (40) is also given a tremendous eulogy, with learning from Theophrastus; but when Ovid ceases to speak and the poet comments, it is thus:

So vulture loue on his encreasing liuer,
And fruitfull entrails egerly did feede. (41)

The passion of Ovid is obviously having the outrageous physiological effects of the bestial kind of love. I do not understand the penultimate line of the stanza, but the meaning of the allusion to Diana is simple. From Apuleius on, the fable of Actaeon torn to pieces by his own hounds was used as a warning against becoming the victim of one's own passions. As the sight of Diana in similar circumstances brought Actaeon to this end, Ovid must beware. He is in danger of yielding not to Intellectual Beauty but the madness of lust.

Immediately Chapman inserts an explicit rhetorical warning to Ovid not to proceed to Sight, for if he does so he will

be prickt with other sences stings,
To tast, and feelee, and yet not there be staide. (43)

The Banquet is about to follow its downward course, and Touch implies the *dernière pointe*. Ovid, in doubt as to his most successful course of action (he is not thinking of withdrawal), prays to Juno, somewhat disrespectfully, as the goddess who since she rules "all Nuptiale rites", can "speede Such as in Cyprian sports theyr pleasures fix" (47). This is a frank prayer for help towards sensual satisfaction. He decides to be bold, observing that it is "Attempts, and not entreats get Ladies larges, And grace is sooner got of Dames than graunted" (48)—

maxims he might have derived from his own highly practical *Art of Love*, though not from the *Symposium*.

Chapman's discourteous syntax, with its disregard for the normal amenities of exposition, must be held responsible for the disturbances in the next section. The sight of Corinna strikes Ovid "to the hart with exstasie" (49). This must be the ecstasy of "thoughts cupidinine" described and condemned in the *Coronet*; relating to the love which can "eate your (i.e. "sensual amorists'") entrails out with exstasies" (*Coronet* 5.9; 2.4). It is love for a beauty that deceives,

"tempting men to buy
With endless showes, what endlessly will fade." (51)

unless there is a true exchange of intellectual qualities, and this, from what we have heard Ovid and Julia say already, is not to be the case here, for the only intellectual activity is Ovid's squandering his "mine of knowledge" in beautifying a calculating coquette.

The opening lines of the next stanza (52) have, I think, misled commentators, and consequently the relationship between stanzas 52-5 and the remainder of the poem has been completely misunderstood. Chapman makes it quite clear that this passage is to be read as a digression; stanza 56 begins:

With this digression, wee will now returne
To Ouids prospect . . .

This digression is not about Ovid's kind of love, but the opposite kind, which exists not when men yield to the shows which tempt them to buy "what endlessly will fade", but when souls are exchanged; the beauty that causes this (for all love is an appetite of beauty) is sacred, and "the feast of soules" (52) not a carnal banquet. This is the first stage of the Platonic ascent. This sacred beauty stands in obvious contrast to the other kind, which Ovid is advised not to venture upon. The digression has nothing to do with Ovid except to show what is wrong with him; in looking at Corinna he is yielding to the wrong kind of beauty; and this, I think, is clear enough despite incidental obscurities.

At stanza 56 Chapman returns to Ovid, and describes what he saw. The lady's beauty is warmly extolled and called a

miracle of nature; as she lies there she resembles a soul in Elysium, of which, indeed, her beauty makes her an emblem.

She lay at length, like an immortall soule
 At endlesse rest in blest *Elisium*:
 And then did true felicitie enroule
 So fayre a Lady, figure of her kingdome.
 Now *Ouids* Muse as in her tropicke shinde,
 And hee (strooke dead) was meere heauen-borne become,
 So his quick Verse in equal height was shrinde . . . (57)

Chapman here has a marginal note which is more than usually irresponsible in its syntax :

The amplification of this simile, is taken from the blisfull state of soules in *Elisium*, as *Virgill* faines: and expresseth a regenerate beauty in all life and perfection, not intimating any rest of death. But in place of that eternall spring, he poynteth to that life of life thys beauty-clad naked Lady.

(Miss Bartlett reads “*peace* of that eternall spring” and records no variants, but this seems to me the safest of several possible emendations I should like to make in her text). Now this certainly sounds as if *Corinna* were the subject of a comparison with Elysium,¹ but what the note really means is this :

The Elysium to which I compare the lady is that of *Virgil*. Elysium is not death, but a new life of beauty and perfection. The state to which seeing her reduced *Ovid* may be compared to the condition of Elysium in that he was, as it were, struck dead with wonder when he saw her and, when he recovered from the shock, was reborn into a condition of ecstatic pleasure at her beauty. But the comparison applies in that respect only; for what *Ovid* was dealing with was not Elysium but the vital beauty of this lady.

It is not the simile, but *Virgil*’s Elysium, that “*expresseth a regenerate beauty*”; in place of regenerate beauty *Ovid* is concerned with this “*beauty-clad naked Lady*”. The candid reader who is familiar with Chapman’s ways will agree that this is the likeliest interpretation. If his note means that *Corinna* stands for a regenerate, heavenly beauty, it is in conflict with everything that has gone before and comes after. Even *Ovid* realizes that *Corinna* is not this kind of Elysium. At first he says

¹ This is admittedly a *topos* in itself; one source is Dante, *Convivio*, Ode ii (“*Amor, che nell mente mi ragiona*”) st. iv, and the commentary in *Treatise* iii. cap. 8.

she is, and tries to prove it by a series of elaborate conceits (58-60); she is different from Elysium only in that she can move about (61). But the comparison breaks down in the end:

" *Elisium* must with vertue gotten bee,
With labors of the soule and continence,
And these can yield no ioy with such as she,
Shee is a sweet *Elisium* for the sence . . ." (62)

In stanza 58 Ovid begins to carve with his eyes this un-Socratic feast of feasts; the terms in which he first praises what he sees are the amplification of this Elysium-simile. Having called Corinna an "*Elisium* for the sence" he attempts to justify this incontinent joy by arguing that the senses are not fust in us unused. The 63rd stanza:

The sence is giuen vs to excite the minde,
And that can neuer be by sence excited
But first the sence must her contentment finde,
We therefore must procure the sence delighted,
That so the soule may use her facultie;
Mine Eye then to this feast hath her inuited,
That she might serue the soueraigne of mine Eye,
Shee shall bide Time, and Time so feasted neuer
Shall grow in strength of her renowne for euer. (63)

Now this is often taken to be the "moral" of the poem, and Ovid's sensual exercise upon Corinna's beauty a mere fictional demonstration of it. Unless the senses are contented, their mistress, the soul, cannot "use her facultie": "else a great Prince in prison lies". Furthermore, Chapman happens to give evidence elsewhere that he approves of the sentence with which the stanza begins, for in his note on the Vice-Virtue passage in Hesiod ("But before Virtue do the Gods rain sweat") he quotes it in a Latin version, the source of which I have not traced: "... by the worthily exercis'd and instructed organs of that body, her Virtue's soul received her excitation to all her expressible knowledge (for *dati sunt sensus ad intellectum excitandum* ").¹

¹ *Poems*, ed. cit. p. 219. The origin of this precise expression I have not traced, but the notion is familiar; cf. Aquinas, *Summa Theologica* I. lxxxiv. 6; "Secundum Platonis opinionem . . . sensibilia excitant animam sensibilem ad sentiendum, et similiter sensus excitant animam intellectivam ad intelligendum."

It would be surprising if Chapman did not hold this view, which is perfectly orthodox ; the end of the senses is to inform, and to stimulate the mind. But Ovid is, as usual, disingenuous ; he is expending his knowledge to " set wise glosses on the fool ". Again, as usual, Chapman does not make it evident that the " her " of line 6 refers to " sence " rather than to Corinna or the soul, but it is so ; the Eye invites the " sence " to the feast that it might serve the soul (the sovereign of mine Eye). The " sence " here must mean touch-taste. Much of Chapman's cloudy stuff could have been clarified by attention to the elements of exposition. What the last two lines mean I cannot say ; but it remains clear that Ovid is using this learning about the ends of sense dishonestly, because it is not the *mind* he is in process of exciting. And the example he chooses of the attractive force of beauty is Helen, the beauty which pulled the towers of Troy about its ears (68), a disaster which was regarded as archetypal. Shakespeare uses it to enforce the universality of Lucrece's horror—Helen is " the strumpet that began this stir ". (Here it is Ovid's fall that is presaged.)

After this we are told of Corinna's binding up her hair, and of the emblematic jewels she arranges in it. One has the sense, " Decrescente nobilitate, crescunt obscuri " (70)—perhaps a reference to Ovid's presumption. Another is an " Eye in Saphire set and close upon it a fresh Lawrell spray "—with the posie *Medio caret* (71). In the margin Chapman explains that " Sight is one of the three sences that hath his medium extrinsically, which now (supposed wanting) lets the sight by the close apposition of the Lawrell : the application whereof hath many constructions ". The construction in the text is that the emblem shows " not eyes, but meanes must truth display ". Perhaps this means that the poet is improperly relying on the visual stimulus which, without the intervention of wisdom, is powerless to see truth. The last emblem is of Apollo and his team, with the motto *Teipsum et orbem*, which is surely a counsel of self-control ; we remember that he killed the children of Niobe for a similar ignorant presumption. If these are warnings they are neglected ; for in stanza 72 Ovid, despite his earlier philosophizing, is clearly bent on the baser sensual achievements.

To taste and touch, one kisse may worke the same:
If more will come, more then much more I will.

And he shows himself to Corinna. She chides him for compromising her honour: "Thought Sights childe Begetteth sinne" (78), she says, apparently in no doubt that from Visus the development is, in this case, downwards. Ovid, of course, has his answer; this is an error of Opinion, for Reason would see that any harm done by looking at naked beauty is done to the looker (79 f.). But Love has entered his brain, and taken command of his actions; wherefore he must beg a kiss to satisfy *Gustus* and have the fourth course of his Banquet. He even makes this sound like a moral obligation, the motive of his soul (87) being incomplete while two senses remain unsatisfied. The *communis sensus* requires to be furnished with the remainder of the Banquet. Corinna very properly chides Ovid for his presumption and folly:

I see unbidden Guests are boldest still,
And well you shoue how weake in soule you are
That let rude sence subdue your reasons skil . . . (89)

and, significantly, mentions the difference of their station; Ovid is not noble. He has his easy, orthodox reply to this: "Vertue makes honor" (91). Corinna responds with a purely Platonic argument:

Pure loue (said she) the purest grace pursues,
And there is contact, not by application
Of lips or bodies, but of bodies vertues,
As in our elementale Nation
Stars by theyr powers, which are theyr heat and light
Do heavenly works, and that which hath probation
By virtuall contact hath the noblest plight,
Both for the lasting and affinitie
It hath with naturall diuinitie. (92)

This is worthy of Lovel in the *New Inn*. Ovid's reply settles any remaining doubt about his idealism; he caps Corinna's philosophy, explaining that her virtual influence proceeds from form not substance, and that his present longings can only be satisfied by the latter (93). This frank preference for matter over form is surely the position of Beaufort in Jonson's play:

"Gi' me the body, if it be a good one." And in the next stanza his argument for a kiss is conducted by an analogy so ingenious that Corinna, delighted with his learning, yields; she will not, she says,

coylie lyft *Mineruas* shielde
Against *Minerua*.

And she resumes the tone of her song; the whole episode is for her only a problem in the craft of wooing, such as the *Art of Love* examines from both male and female points of view. So Ovid gains his kiss, the fourth course in the Banquet and the third Point of Love.

But the satisfaction of *Gustus* only renders the plea for *Tactus* more urgent; the transition from one sense to another is worked out in six surprisingly intelligible stanzas (97-102). Now Ovid is well on the way he says, to having the Golden World established out of the chaos of his flesh. But "with feasting, loue is famisht more" (101) and the touch must be brought into play.

Loue is a wanton famine, rich in foode,
But with a richer appetite controld,
An argument in figure and in Moode
Yet hates all arguments: disputing still
For sence, gainst Reason, with a senceless will. (101)

This is explicit enough. To dispute for Sense against Reason, which this kind of love must do, is "senceless"; "will", as often in Shakespeare, is here virtually "lust". The subjugation of Reason to Sense is, of course, the precise opposite of the discipline of the true *convivium*. And Ovid's praise of *Tactus* removes any remaining vestige of suspicion that this is more than a philosophical seduction, ironically described so that the true Platonic Banquet may be praised by implication. Touch he first says, is the "sences ground-worke" (102); but then he calls it "the sences Emperor":

is't immodestie
To serue the sences Emperor, sweet Feeling
With those delights that fit his Emperie? (103)

A sensual empery, indeed. Touch is the fundamental sense; but to the Platonist, a base drudge, not an emperor. The position

of Ficino is completely reversed. Since, continues Ovid, the mind cannot be corrupted by the actions of the body ; since he means well, and *abusus non tollit usum*, he hopes he may touch Corinna. The lady is " glad his arguments to heare " (105) and, preparing for this act, exposes " Latonas Twinns, her plenteous breasts ". I do not see why they should be called Latona's twins unless it is to remind us that Latona's twins slew the presumptuous Niobides, and that Ovid, for all his ingenuity, is courting the same fate. Anyway, the favour is granted, and Ovid makes much of the hand which is to have the honour, calling it, among other things, " king of the king of senses " (107), that is, master of the sense of touch. Stanza 109 revives the conceit of Corinna's body as the figure of Elysium (but an Elysium of sense, not of regenerate life); and in stanza 110 Ovid touches her. He laments, as usual disingenuously, that he must with Touch, " a fleshly engine ", unfold " a spirituall notion " (111) by which disability the difference between men and beast is obscured ; the latter part of what he says is true. Despite this deficiency in the sense, he praises Touch :

Sweete touch the engine that loues bowe doth bend,
The sence wherewith he feesles him deified,
The obiect whereto all his actions tend,
In all his blindenes his most pleasing guide,
For thy sake will I write the Art of Love . . . (113)

We cannot expect much more clarity than Chapman gives us here. This love is blind ; its end is the satisfaction of the lowest sense ; to celebrate it Ovid will write a handbook of amorous seduction.

Tactus is the fifth course of the Banquet, and the fourth Point of Love. The *quinque lineae* scheme supervenes, and Coitus should succeed Tactus. But Ovid is forced by the arrival of other ladies to leave the garden. He grieves, like Alexander, " that no greater action could be done " (116).

But as when expert Painters haue displaid,
To quickest life a Monarchs royall hand
Holding a Scepter, there is yet bewraide
But halfe his fingere; when we understand
The rest not to be seene; and neuer blame
The Painters Art, in nicest censures skand:

So in the compasse of this curious frame,
Ovid well knew there was much more intended,
With whose omission none must be offended.

Intentio, animi actio. Explicit convivium. (117)

This figure occurs in *The Rape of Lucrece*, in Shakespeare's description of the "imaginary work" in the Troy picture; it amounts to a claim on the part of the poet that he is able, as well as the painter, to suggest more than he describes. We are, in fact, invited to suppose the completion of the *quinque lineae* scheme, imagine Ovid's love consummated, taking the will for the deed. *Explicit convivium*; a Banquet of Sense indeed, with the full moral implication we have found in the scheme elsewhere. Ovid is not to be counted among the *castissimi convitati*. Chapman's use of the theme is perhaps intended as an ironical comment on erotic poets (notably Shakespeare) whose works in his view have dishonest moral pretensions. His Ovid represents such poets, and Jonson's does; and he abuses philosophy for erotic ends, indeed involves himself in the impossible task of dressing up the Banquet of bestial love to look like the true *convivium*.

So, "if we can but spell and join his sense", Chapman falls into line with the others; according to his habit, however, he obscures that sense, and allows us to misinterpret him as making an Ovidian celebration of "love's sensual employ". As in *Hero and Leander* his warnings are obscure (the portents, Ceremony) so here he is willing to allow folly to convert his work to its own purposes. But he himself remains the well-inspired moralist; and the poem from whose title I borrow mine is not in its theme exceptional.

STUDIES IN THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE
NEAR EAST
II: SOME FACTS CONCERNING THE GREAT
PYRAMIDS OF EL-GÎZA AND THEIR ROYAL
CONSTRUCTORS

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THE present article is written with the intention of assembling certain facts of more general interest concerning the Great Pyramids of El-Gîza and their royal constructors, Cheops, Chephren and Mycerinus, which have been obtained chiefly from excavations and from various publications which are perhaps not generally available.¹ The author has himself carried out researches both among the pyramids in question and at the earlier pyramid site some fifty miles to the south, called Meydûm and established by Huni, grand-father of Cheops. The Great Pyramids are, of course, not at El-Gîza itself, for that small "town" is situated about half way between Cairo and the real site of the monuments, namely, the upper edge of the rock plateau of the desert to the west of the modern metropolis of Egypt. As, however, they are known to the whole world as the "Pyramids of [El-]Gîza",² it would be unwise to give them a new designation. In the interests of the non-Egyptological

¹ Cf. É. Drioton et J. Vandier, *L'Égypte* (1952), pp. 126 f., 195 ff. In the present article I have made much use of the publications of the late Professor G. A. Reisner, the master Egyptological excavator of his time, once my respected chief and my instructor in details of field work. These publications include *Mycerinus* (1931) and *A History of the Giza Necropolis* vol. i (1942), vol. ii (1955). Among other works I have consulted are Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, etc., iii (1931), 3 ff.; J. P. Lauer, *Le problème des Pyramides d'Égypte* (1952); and I. E. S. Edwards, *The Pyramids of Egypt* (Penguin, 1955), pp. 85 ff.

² Dr J. D. Latham informs me that the normal spelling in classical Arabic is *Al-Jiza*, meaning the "side" of a valley or of a river bed.

reader transcriptions of the old Egyptian names are given as simply as possible ; *ayin* is represented by â.¹

I. GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE THREE GREAT PYRAMID COMPLEXES AT EL-GÎZA

Each pyramid complex of the kings buried at El-Gîza consists of: (i) The pyramid itself with its internal burial chamber and an outer entrance in the north face ; (ii) A mortuary temple abutting its eastern side ; (iii) An enclosing wall around the pyramid ; (iv) A long causeway or corridor sloping down riverwards from the mortuary temple to the embalmment-and-purification temple in the valley on the lower margin of the desert ; (v) Disembarkation quays adjoining the east side of the latter temple; (vi) A subway under the causeway for the cross traffic²; (vii) The small pyramids of the queens ; and (viii) Large rock-trenches holding sacred boats of wood.³ The centre of the back wall of the mortuary temple was adjacent to the middle lower part of the eastern face of the king's pyramid containing the so-called " false-door " of granite through which the *ka* or spirit of the monarch was supposed to come forth from his burial chamber in order to partake of the offerings regularly presented to him by the mortuary priests.

A special feature is presented by the Great Sphinx⁴ which lies just to the north-west of the embalmment temple of Chephren, builder of the Second Pyramid. This particular Sphinx originally represented the monarch himself in the form

¹ The General Plan illustrating this article was made by Mr. D. A. Woolley, a student in architecture at Manchester University.

² That is to say, under the causeways of Cheops and Chephren. Another subway is below the causeway of the tomb of queen Khenti-kau-es built not far from the embalmment-temple of Mycerinus, her supposed father. To the west of the tomb is a rock-cut trench for a sacred boat, and on the east side a small Pyramid-City. The queen was married to User-ka-ef, first king of the Fifth Dynasty (2563-2423 B.C.).

³ No such trenches have yet been found for the Mycerinus complex, but there is no doubt they exist under the desert sand.

⁴ This word is probably derived from the Egyptian *Shesep-ânkh*, " Living-Image [of-the-solar-god]" .

of a man-headed lion protecting his own pyramid complex. Later on, about the time of Amenophis II of the Seventeenth Dynasty¹ (1450-1425? B.C.), when its original significance was forgotten, the Great Sphinx was identified with the solar-god of Heliopolis Her-em-akhti ("Horus-on-the-Horizon"), known to the Greeks as Harmachis. Between its paws was a pavement, at the inner end of which lay a kind of open temple enclosed by two partitions, through which ran a passage containing a small figure of a recumbent lion facing the Sphinx. In the background were inscribed stelæ of kings Tuthmosis IV of the Eighteenth Dynasty (1504-1450 B.C.)² and Rameses II of the Nineteenth Dynasty (1301-1235 B.C.); a flight of steps led up to the front of the whole monument. In the Græco-Roman era a platform supporting a small altar was erected in front of the Sphinx. To the east of the Sphinx is the contemporary temple belonging to it, and in this connection it must be stated that the building so often in the past referred to as the "Temple of the Sphinx" is really the embalmment-and-purification temple of Chephren. The actual temple of the Sphinx was discovered a little time ago by the Service des Antiquités of the Egyptian Government,³ who also came across the non-Egyptian name by which the Sphinx was known in the Eighteenth Dynasty, namely Herna or Heren, which name appears on stelæ in association with names of a Canaanite colony living in the vicinity at that time.⁴ Not far from the Sphinx is a newly-discovered temple of Amenophis II, a king already referred to before; in it is an enormous stela describing the prowess of the monarch.

¹ Manetho of Sebennytes, an Egyptian priest of Heliopolis, about 300 B.C., divided Egyptian history into thirty dynasties; the earliest one was founded by king Menes, c. 3000 B.C.

² According to the inscription cut on the stela of Tuthmosis IV, this king, while still a prince, fell asleep one day in the shadow of the Sphinx and dreamt that the god appeared to him commanding him to clear away "the desert sand that encumbered him (i.e. the god)." As soon as Tuthmosis IV ascended the throne he caused the Sphinx to be unearthed.

³ Among the more recent interesting excavations carried out at El-Gîza are those of Selim Hassan. See his *Excavations at Gîza* (1929 onwards).

⁴ Syrian, etc. resin-oil was certainly imported into Egypt during the Fourth to Sixth Dynasties. Cf. my *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs, etc., in the Palestine Archaeological Museum* (1936), pp. xv f., 228; Reisner, *Gîza*, ii. p. 75.

Near each great pyramid was also its own "Pyramid City" in which lived members of the family and court of the king, together with the mortuary priests and their assistants associated with the cult of the royal dead. The small pyramid complexes of the queens (see plate) consisted of the pyramid with its burial chamber and a small chapel on the east side; one such pyramid, belonging to the family of Cheops, has a boat-trough cut in the rock near it.

Not far from the Great Pyramid of Cheops, sometimes called the "First Pyramid of [El-]Gîza", are the original groups of rectangular masonry tombs (*mastabas*)¹ laid out by the pyramid builders in regular streets according to unified plans. These tombs were for the minor royal personages and great men of the Fourth Dynasty (2723-2563 B.C.) to which the kings of the three great pyramids belonged, Mycerinus being the constructor of the last or Third Pyramid. Elsewhere on the site and also in the open spaces between these tombs are others mostly ranging in date from the Fourth to the Sixth Dynasties (2723-2263 B.C.)² containing the burials of priests, various officials of the court, and so on. It is impossible within the limits of this article to give all the titles of the persons buried or mentioned in the tombs near the three Great Pyramids. The following classes of priests are met with:

PROPHET (*hem-nefer*, "Servant-of-the-God"), the highest grade;

PROPHETESS (*hemt-nefer*);

GOD'S FATHER (*it-nefer*), a class of elder priests;

LECTOR (*hery-hebt*, "Holder-of-the-Ritual-Book");

ORDINARY PRIEST (*wâb*);

SERVANT OF THE SOUL (*hem-ka*), who tended the funerary cult of private persons;

SMA-PRIEST, concerned with clothing, adorning the god, etc.

¹ *Mastaba* is the Arabic name for a long solid seat, the superstructure of which (in the case of a tomb) is usually oblong in plan, with sides sloping inwards from the base to a flat top. It generally contains two pits leading down from above to the burial chambers in the rock below, the husband being placed in the southern chamber and the wife in the northern one. Some *mastabas*, however, have one pit. On the east, or river, side of the superstructure are offering-niches or a small chapel.

² For Egypto-Canaanite contacts during this and later periods, including the establishment by Tuthmosis IV (Eighteenth Dynasty) of Canaanites in his mortuary temple enclosure at Thebes, etc., cf. Rowe, op. cit. pp. xiv ff. A stela found at El-Gîza, of the same reign, shows the figure of a sphinx with a damaged text referring to Phœnicia (*Djah*).

Many of the priests were attached to the cult of the kings of the pyramids and some to that of much older monarchs, such as Seshem-nefer, the prophet of king Qay-â, last king of the First Dynasty,¹ a prophet who was also "First-Under-the-King" in the palace of king Djed-ef-râ, successor of Cheops. Certain priests held the superior ranks of Inspector or Overseer; one was Overseer of the Linen of the Pyramids of Cheops and Chephren. Another, named Qar, was an Overseer of the Pyramid-Cities of Cheops and Mycerinus, Priest of the Pyramid of Chephren, and also a Gardener of the Saqqâra Pyramid of king Pepi I, Sixth Dynasty, in whose reign he lived.

The Palace Officials included: Secretary ("Overseer of Secrets") of the king; Acquaintance (male or female) of the king; Overseer of the Palace; Usher of the Palace; Overseer of the Garden of the Palace; Overseer of Singers of the Palace; Overseer of Dancers of the Palace; Director of the Dwarf's Wardrobe (dwarfs enjoyed great favour at the court); Hair-dresser of the king; Inspector of Manicurists; Physician; Occulist.

Among the other Officials were: Administrator of Ships; Overseer of Canals; Inspector of Scribes of the Treasury; Scribe of the Granary of the Treasury; Overseer of Sculptors; Inspector of Builders; Overseer (or Inspector) of Artisans in the Place of Embalment; Sailor; etc.²

¹ The pharaohs themselves carried out the cult of their royal ancestors. Thus at Abydos, in the Temple of Sety I (1313-1298 B.C.), there is a list of the pharaohs beginning with Menes, the first king, and extending down to Sety I, the names of unimportant or illegitimate rulers being omitted. Above the list is written: "The performance of the prayer for the dead.—May [the god] Ptah-Seker-Osiris, lord of the tomb, who dwells in the Temple of Sety, increase the gifts for the kings of Upper and Lower Egypt—by King Sety I; 1,000 loaves of bread, 1,000 barrels of beer, 1,000 cattle, etc." (here follow the royal names). Cf. Baedeker's, *Egypt* (1902), p. 222.

² For the titles and names of most of the priests and officials at El-Gîza see the above-mentioned publications of Reisner, Porter and Moss, and Selim Hassan, where are also given the names of the members of the royal families of the Great Pyramid period. Incidentally, non-Egyptological librarians may be interested to know that the Library itself was called "House-of-Rolls (or Books)", *Per-Medjat*, and the Scriptorium, "House-of-Life", *Per-Ânkḥ*. On the walls of a library in a Ptolemaic temple is inscribed a catalogue of the books, etc. For an account of the library I discovered in the great Serapeum

In the Manchester University Museum are the following stone objects of the Fifth Dynasty found by Professor W. M. F. Petrie at El-Gîza :¹

- (a) Lintel and drum of Nefer-her-en-ptah (" Beautiful-is-the-face-of [the god] Ptah "), A Royal Treasurer of the Granary.
- (b) Altar of Nedjem, an Inspector of Builders.
- (c) Small statue of the man Hi-nefer (good name Ires). Called "Res-he-nofr " by Petrie.

Also in the same Museum are fragments of stucco forming the covering of an arched brick tumulus of the First Dynasty from El-Gîza.² This tumulus recalls the " Upper Egyptian " one of the same period found inside a composite mastaba at Saqqâra.³

In the Boston Museum of Fine Arts is a granite sarcophagus of an important official buried at El-Gîza whose name is Senedjem-ib (good name Inti). He was a Vizier (*taty*), and Overseer of All the Works of Isesi, last king but one of the Fifth Dynasty. In an inscription in the forecourt of Senedjem-ib's tomb his son recalls that the king had ordered an endowment be made for the tomb in question. The son says : " I made [it] for him in only one year and three months ", while he was in a temporary resting place in a certain Saqqâra Necropolis—" Isesi-is-Beautiful." We are further informed that the sarcophagus itself was brought on a ferry-boat from opposite Tûra (where the stone was quarried and fashioned), on the east bank of the Nile, to a site at the edge of the area of the Pyramid of Cheops.

of Alexandria see BULLETIN, xxxix (1956-57), pp. 488, 511 f. A certain Seshem-nefer, whose tomb is at El-Gîza, was a director of the two thrones in the " House-of-Life " (Porter and Moss, op. cit. iii, p. 44). The two thrones are, of course, the Throne for Upper Egypt and the Throne for Lower Egypt. This fact doubtless indicates that the " House-of-Life " referred to was divided into two sections, one containing the scripts, etc., for the south and the other those for the north. For a teacher of a later " House of Life " cf. P. E. Newberry, *Scarab-Shaped Seals* (Cairo, 1907), no. 36065.

¹ Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh* (1907), pp. 8 f. Cf. Porter and Moss, op. cit. iii. p. 64.

² Petrie, op. cit. pp. 3 f., Pl. V E.

³ Cf. BULLETIN, xliii (1960-61), 491, n. 1.

The inscription is accompanied by a relief showing the transport of the sarcophagus down the river; the boat is named "The great boat, 'Mighty-is-Isesi'".¹

Among the ruins of the later mastabas at El-Gîza Reisner discovered a slab of stone from a wall scene in a chapel of a tomb of an unknown man of the Sixth Dynasty (2423-2263 B.C.), on which is recorded details of the burial of a dog beloved of a certain king of the period. The dog, which was called Âbutiyu, was the "guard of his majesty", and the unknown man must have been the keeper of the dog. Here is the funerary inscription of the animal: "The dog which was the guard of his majesty. Âbutiyu is his name. His majesty ordered that he be buried ceremonially, that he be given a coffin from the royal treasury, fine linen in great quantity, and incense. His majesty also gave perfumed ointment, and ordered that a tomb be built for him by gangs of masons. His majesty did this for him in order that he [the dog] might be honoured before the great god."² As a matter of fact, during the Old and Middle Kingdoms (3000-c. 2000 B.C.) some of the kings and high functionaries had represented on their funerary stelæ their favourite dogs, without doubt in the hope that these animals would live again in the Other World. The remains of a dog were actually found in the tomb of queen Her-neit (reign of Udimu, fifth king of the First Dynasty) at Saqqâra.³ Throughout the centuries man has mourned for the loss of pet animals and it is not out of place to recall a certain inscription of the Roman period lamenting the passing away of a favourite female dog which died while giving birth to puppies.⁴

It must be stated emphatically that the El-Gîza pyramids as a whole were designed as royal *tombs*, the larger ones for kings

¹ For the tomb see Porter and Moss, *op. cit.* iii, pp. 35 f.; Reisner, *Giza*, ii, pp. 56 f.

² Cf. *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, xxxiv (1936), pp. 96 ff.

³ See the *Illustrated London News* (June 2, 1956), p. 648.

⁴ As an indication of the Egyptian regard for poor people, animals, and birds, may be quoted the following inscription on a monument of about 600 B.C.: "I gave bread to the hungry, water to the thirsty, clothing to the naked; I gave food to the ibis, the hawk, the cat, and the jackal" (J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* (1906), i. p. 126 n.).

and the smaller ones for queens,¹ and also that all the fanciful theories which have been evolved about the greatest of this type—that of Cheops—in more or less recent times, theories which regard it as a kind of register of national events, and so forth, are nothing else than nonsense. The theories fall to the ground, *ab initio*, mainly due to the circumstance that their misguided but well-intentioned propounders base their “results” on a unit of their own manufacture which they are pleased to call the “pyramid inch”. No such measure existed in ancient Egypt.

As a matter of fact the old Egyptian unit for measurements was nothing more than the cubit of about 20.6 inches (523 millimetres), divided into 7 palm-breadths or 28 finger-breadths. The chief multiple of the cubit was the rod of 100 cubits,² which was the length, for instance, of boats of Syrian red wood and cedar built for Sneferu, father of Cheops. The cubit is the unit which alone is painted in red both on the walls of the weight-relieving chambers over the uppermost actual burial chamber of the Great Pyramid of Cheops, and elsewhere in the Necropolis. It was the custom to lay out buildings in round numbers of cubits and in this connection it may be mentioned that the pyramid of Cheops was nominally 280 cubits high and 440 cubits long at each side of the base (a proportion of 7 to 11); the actual burial chamber is 20 cubits in length by 10 cubits in width.

The story of the evolution of the true pyramid with smooth sides from the stepped pyramid (inaugurated by Sneferu) is referred to in my article in the BULLETIN, xliii (1960-61), 490 f. Generally speaking the pyramids were built by the aid of inclined ramps which were removed when the building was completed. The most recent scientific article on this subject is by Dows Dunham, Curator Emeritus of Egyptian Art, Boston Fine Arts Museum.³ Most of the stone is of local origin (nummulitic limestone), but the finer blocks used for casing and other

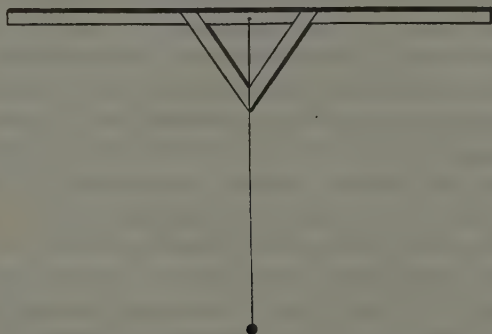
¹ The pyramid itself also eventually became a symbol of the sun-god and in the solar sanctuary at Heliopolis there was a pyramidal stone, of which that surmounting the obelisks in the Fifth Dynasty sun-temples at Abûsir, south of El-Gîza, was evidently a reproduction. Actually an obelisk is nothing more than a shaft supporting a small pyramid (pyramidion) on its top, the pyramid being the sacred part of the object.

² The rod equals 171 ft. 8 in. (52.3 metres).

³ “Building a Pyramid”, in *Archaeology*, 9, no. 3 (Autumn 1956), pp. 159 ff.

purposes came from the Tura quarries on the opposite or eastern side of the Nile. The red and black granite employed in various places, especially in the pyramid of Chephren and the pyramid of Mycerinus, was brought down the river from Aswân (Syene).

While working in the great El-Gîza Necropolis I noticed that the system of levelling the structures was carried out by means of painting on the faces of the walls a series of red horizontal lines each divided from one another by a space of a cubit. The base line was called *neferu* ("zero"), and the horizontal lines above it were successively numbered "One cubit above *neferu*", "Two cubits above *neferu*", and so forth. An inverted triangle painted near the numbers apparently represents part of the instrument used for establishing the base line. This, I suggest, consisted of a rather long piece of straight wood with a small triangle of the same material fixed about its centre. To establish the base line the object (which would have had a cord with pendant bob, the former tied to the centre of the *base* of the triangle as shown in the figure) would then be held against the



Suggested Pyramid Levelling Instrument. Wood with Bob attached by Cord.
(Based on details painted in red in the Necropolis.)

face of the lowest row of masonry with the apex of the triangle downwards. When the cord was touching the apex the top of the instrument was of course in a level position. By sighting along the beam the mason was able to establish other points on the base line, all of which were then indicated by bases of the triangles which we see painted on the blocks. The points would

be then connected by a fine line, a guiding string being employed for the purpose. As an indication of the accuracy obtained by the builders of the Cheops pyramid, an examination by modern methods of the levels of various points on the pavement visible around the monument shows absolutely a true plane, but the whole plane slopes about $\frac{3}{5}$ of an inch (15 millimetres) up from the N.W. to the S.E. corner. How far the pavement runs under the pyramid is uncertain, but the body of the pyramid there is certainly a core of rock. J. H. Cole, of the Survey of Egypt, carried out a survey of the base of this pyramid in 1924, with the following amazing results :

Side	Length		Azimuth
	Inches	Metres	
North	9065.1	230.253	89° 57' 32"
South	9073.0	230.454	89° 58' 03"
East	9070.5	230.391	359° 54' 30"
West	9069.2	230.357	359° 57' 45" ¹

During the time I was with the Harvard-Boston Expedition in 1924 I chanced to visit the weight-relieving chambers over the actual funerary chamber in the Great Pyramid and as a result collected a number of important inscriptions in red paint which the builders of the pyramid had left behind them. These inscriptions, already observed but previously not properly understood by scholars, give the names of the various crews of workmen who built the pyramid and it is these names and others which I collected elsewhere in the El-Gîza Fourth Dynasty Necropolis² that enables us to understand how the pyramid workmen,

¹ Cf. R. Engelbach, *Introduction to Egyptian Archaeology* (1946), pp. 118 f. Summing up Cole's results Engelbach writes: "The difference between the longest sides (each side being nominally 440 cubits or about 230 metres) was just under 20 centimetres, the maximum error from the right-angle was $3\frac{1}{2}$ minutes of arc, and the orientation less than 2' 30" from true north." Edwards (op. cit. pp. 209 ff.) suggests that the builders of the pyramid used a simple method of determining what they believed to be true north, that is to say "by sighting on a star in the northern heavens and bisecting the angle formed by its rising position, the position from which the observation was made and its setting position". He recalls that Petrie's survey showed that the mean error of the east and west sides of the pyramid of Chephren was c. 5' 26" west of north, of the pyramid of Mycerinus c. 14' 3" east of north, and of the Meydûm pyramid (Huni + Sneferu) 24' 25" west of north.

² Published by Reisner, *Mycerinus*, pp. 273 ff., Pls. XI, XII.

including quarrymen, etc., were divided into groups, based on the crews of boats. The MAIN GANG which, in the case of a pyramid and of a royal boat, had the name of the reigning pharaoh included in its title. For instance, in the case of the Great Pyramid, we meet with the crews "Cheops-is-the-Purifier-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt" (*Her-medjedu-wâb-tawy*), "Cheops-Excites-Love" (*Khufu-smeru*), "The-White-Crown-of-Cheops-is-Powerful" (*Hedjet-Khnum-Khufu-sekhet*), and in that of the Third Pyramid "Mycerinus-is-Drunk" (*Men-kaui-râ-tekhu*) and "Mycerinus-Excites-Love" (*Men-kaui-râ-smeru*). Each Main Gang was itself divided into WATCHES, named after parts of the boat, that is to say "Port", "Starboard", "Bow", "Stern" and "Hold". In turn, each WATCH consisted of smaller gangs bearing, in the case of Mycerinus, such names as "Antelope Gang", "Ibis Gang", and so forth, all probably village names in origin. Reisner has estimated that at the pyramids there were 800-1,000 men to each Main Gang, 200-250 to each Watch, and 10-50 to each sub-gang of the Watch. There exists in the Pontifical Biblical Institute, Jerusalem, a hardened copper axe-head found in 1911 near the Roman Bridge, mouth of the River Adonis (Nahr Ibrahîm), Syria, in 1911. This object¹ belonged to an ancient Egyptian boat-crew which went to Syria for cedar etc. (cf. II Chron. ii. 16) and must have been accidentally dropped overboard. It bears the incised inscription: "The [boat]-crew 'The-Two-Falcons-of-Gold'²-are-pacified"; 'Port' [watch]; 'Foundation' [sub-gang]." The "Two-Falcons" is normally a circumlocution for the reconciled enemy-gods Horus and Seth.³ There is actually in the El-Gîza Necropolis the tomb of a certain Idu, who was "Overseer-of-the-House-of-Cedarwood".⁴

¹ Cf. my *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs*. . . . *Palestine Archaeological Museum*, pp. 283 ff., Pl. XXXVI for a complete description.

² Kings Cheops, Sahu-râ of Fifth Dynasty, Mer-en-râ of Sixth Dynasty, and the shadowy monarch Shairu of the Fourth Dynasty all employed "Two-Falcons-of-Gold" as part of their titulary. In the El-Gîza mastaba of Djed-ef-her is a Main Gang of the time of Cheops called "Two-Falcons-of-Gold *rekhu*". Reisner, *Giza*, ii, p. 8.

³ See A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* (1957), p. 73.

⁴ Cf. Porter and Moss, *op. cit.* iii. p. 41. Date, early Sixth Dynasty.

It was not until the time of the Fifth Dynasty, actually in the reign of Unis, the last king, that long mortuary texts were placed inside pyramids and this was at Saqqâra; these are the so-called "Pyramid Texts", some of which contain prayers for the protection of the pyramid and its mortuary temple. Compare Utterances 600 and 601 on behalf of Pepi II, fifth king of the Sixth Dynasty: "O Atum, put thy protection upon Pepi, upon this his pyramid, (upon) this temple of Pepi. O Great Ennead who are in Heliopolis, make Pepi endure; make this pyramid of Pepi endure, and this his temple, for ever and ever, as the name of Atum, chief of the Great Ennead, endures."¹ Before the Pyramid Texts came into being the older monarchs seem to have relied largely on the physical protection of the mighty structures to guard their dead.

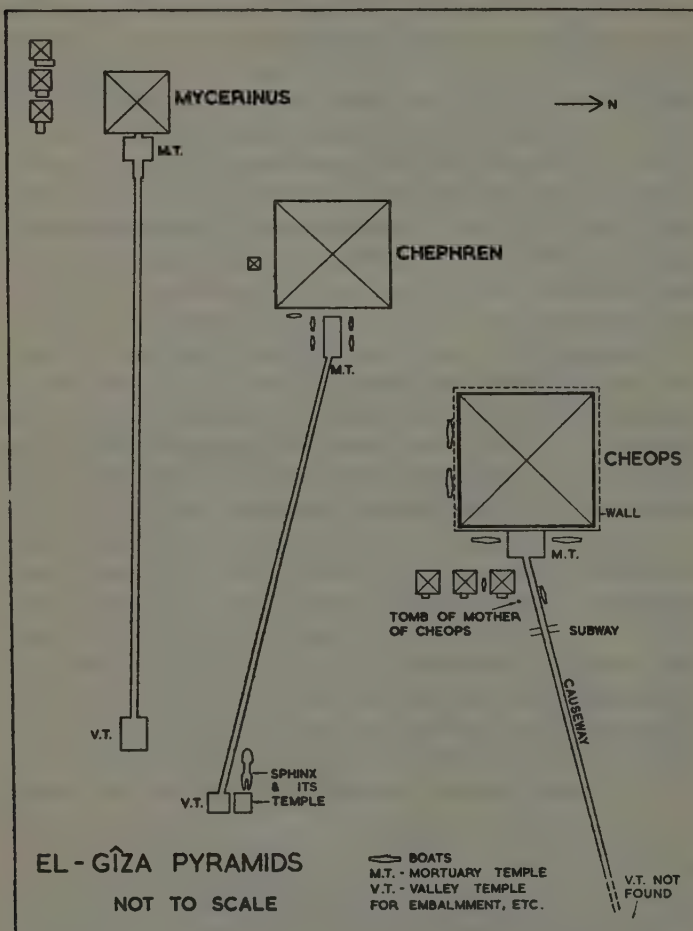
The pyramids on the various sites seem to have remained more or less inviolate until the fall of the Sixth Dynasty when a period of upheaval arose in the land covering the Seventh-Tenth Dynasties (c. 2263-2070 B.C.), generally known as the First Intermediate Period. A literary work composed about this period (an existing copy dates from the Nineteenth Dynasty, 1314-1200 B.C.) laments that "nobles and kings are being dragged from their tombs and pyramids" and states that "what the pyramid concealed is become empty"; referring to past tranquil times it adds: "it is . . . good when the hand of men build pyramids." One interesting statement in the work is: "Forsooth, the river is as blood."² Compare the turning of the waters of the river of Egypt into blood by Moses. Ex. vii. 19-21.

During the Fourth Dynasty, when the kings of the pyramids of El-Gîza were living, the state god was Râ, a solar deity, while

¹ Cf. G. A. Mercer, *The Pyramid Texts* (1952); J. P. Lauer, op. cit., pp. 203 ff.

² See Gardiner, op. cit. p. 93; A. Erman, *Literature of the Ancient Egyptians* (1927). I suggest that the reference is to a partial staining of the waters by the blood of rival factions whose bodies were thrown into the river. An inscription of the Twelfth Dynasty (2000-1785 B.C.) says: "There is no tomb for him who rebels against his majesty—his body is thrown into the water" while another of the Twenty-Second Dynasty (950-730) B.C. affirms that "The doer of evil is thrown into the harbour". For references see my article in *Annales du Service*, xl (1940), 5.

the chief mortuary god of the Necropolis was Anubis whose emblem was a jackal. Other contemporary deities met with in the local inscriptions are Horus, a solar-god in the form of a



falcon ; Ptah, the artisan-god of Memphis ; Thoth, the ibis-headed scribe of the gods ; and Khnum, tutelary deity of the First Cataract whose name forms part of the pharaonic name of Cheops, *Khnum-khufu* (" Khnum : He-protects-me "). Among

the chief goddesses were Hathor of the Sycamore Tree; Neith "Lady-of-Sais", and, finally, Heqet, whose emblem was a frog. Osiris, the great mortuary god and judge of the dead, is not mentioned in the texts before the time of king Unis, although a certain emblem (the *djed*-column)¹ generally sacred to the god in later times has been found in a tomb dating from the First Dynasty.

All the pharaohs of the Fourth Dynasty built pyramids, that is to say with the exception of the last one, Shepses-ka-ef, who erected a tomb at Saqqâra in the form of a great rectangular sarcophagus on a pedestal. Its name was "Shepses-ka-ef-is-cool", or similar. The Arabs call it *Maştabat Fir'awn*, "Pharaoh's Mastaba".

Fourth Dynasty Pharaohs in Order of Succession

	<i>Pyramid Name</i>	<i>Pyramid Site</i>
1. SNEFERU ("He [the god] makes-me-beautiful").	"Sneferu-is-shining"	Dahshûr ²
2. CHEOPS (= <i>Khnum-khufu</i> : "Khnum: He-protects-me").	"Cheops-is-one-who-belongs-to-the-horizon" ³	El-Gîza
3. DJED-EF-RÂ ("He-endures, (namely)-Râ").	"Djed-ef-râ-is-above (or on-high)"	Abu Râwash
4. CHEPHREN (= <i>Khâ-ef-râ</i> : "He-shines gloriously, (namely)-Râ").	Chephren-is-great	El-Gîza
5. MYCERINUS (= <i>Men-kau-râ</i> : "The- <i>kas</i> -of-Râ-are abiding").	"Mycerinus-is-divine"	El-Gîza
6. SHEPSES-KA-EF ("His- <i>ka</i> -is-splendid"). ⁴		

The list of kings of the Fourth Dynasty as given by Manetho includes other names.⁵ Brief details of the families of the six

¹ The object represents a bundle of stalks tied together (Gardiner, *op. cit.* p. 502, No. 11).

² Sneferu had two pyramids on this site. Cf. BULLETIN, xliii (1960-61), 484 n. 1. The northern one, in which he was buried, was as named before; the southern one, rhomboidal, discarded because of faults in the masonry, was called "The-Southern-Pyramid: 'Sneferu-is-shining'".

³ Cf. the statement "King Sehetep-ib-râ (Amen-em-hat I) *has gone to the horizon*", i.e. has died (Gardiner, *op. cit.* p. 246).

⁴ Professor H. W. Fairman has kindly given me assistance in the translations of the names of some of the pharaohs and pyramids referred to in this list.

⁵ Reisner, *Mycerinus*, p. 244.

legitimate kings following Huni, last king of the Third Dynasty, who was the father of Hetep-heres I (wife of Sneferu and mother of Cheops), are as follows :

1. SNEFERU. Son of Huni by a minor queen ; married Hetep-heres I. Father of Cheops.
2. CHEOPS. Son of Sneferu and queen Hetep-heres I. Father of Djed-ef-Râ and Chephren.
3. DJED-EF-RÂ. Son of Cheops.
4. CHEPHREN. Son of Cheops. Married his full sister, Khâ-merer-nebti I.
5. MYCERINUS. Son of Chephren and queen Khâ-merer-nebti I. Married his full sister, Khâ-merer-nebti II.
6. SHEPSES-KA-EF. Son of Mycerinus.¹

Professor Breasted has well stated that the period " during which the Fourth Dynasty maintained its power was a period of unprecedented splendour in the history of the Nile Valley people, and . . . the monuments of the time were on a scale of grandeur which was never later eclipsed. It reached its climacteric point in Khufu, and probably after a slight decline in the reign of Khafre, Menkure was no longer able to command the closely centralized power which the family had so successfully maintained up to that time. It passed away, leaving the group of . . . pyramids at Gizeh as an imperishable witness of its greatness and powers."²

II. THE PYRAMID COMPLEX OF CHEOPS

The Great Pyramid has a base area of nearly thirteen acres. Its height was originally about 481 feet. It is certain that although the base and height were made according to a single homogeneous plan the interior arrangements were altered as the reign progressed. In the original design the burial chamber was placed underground in the rock in accordance with the custom obtaining in tombs of the earlier periods. The first alteration carried out was to discard the underground chamber and build another inside the superstructure of masonry, the latter being erroneously sometimes called the " Queen's Chamber ". The final alteration was made by abandoning the " Queen's Chamber " and building another over it, the so-called " King's

¹ Op. cit. p. 239.

² *A History of Egypt* (1927), p. 121.

Chamber", in which the actual burial was made. The lower part or case of the plain red granite sarcophagus of Cheops is still in position. The five weight-relieving chambers, now inhabited by foul-smelling bats, are difficult of access; they are not open to the public, and are reached by means of placing the foot of a long ladder on the floor at the top of the main Ascending Gallery leading to the "King's Chamber". The mortuary temple was of red granite, with open courtyard, square pillars and basalt pavement.¹ On each side of the temple is a great trough excavated in the rock which once contained wooden boats representing either the boats of Upper and Lower Egypt or even the day and the night boat of the sun. A little further to the east, and parallel with that part of the causeway (all originally covered in), is still another boat trough, which possibly may have contained a replica of the funerary boat in which the body of Cheops was ferried on the waters of the Nile to the disembarkation quays east of the embalmment temple. Two other troughs, actually containing boats of wood, have recently been discovered on the southern side of the pyramid. The three small pyramids, each with its temple on its eastern side, seen in our General Plan, were made for three queens, the northernmost one (with its boat) for Merytyetes,² chief queen of Cheops, the middle one for an unknown queen,³ and the southernmost one for Henutsen, another wife of the king. In the Twenty-First Dynasty (1085-950 B.C.) Henutsen was identified with Isis and called "Mistress of the Pyramids", a new temple being then built against her pyramid.

In February 1925, while I was Chief Assistant of the Joint Expedition of Harvard University and Boston Fine Arts Museum, and in charge of the Expedition during the temporary absence in America of the director, Dr. Reisner, the Expedition came across

¹ For this temple and other parts of the complex to the east of the great pyramid see the reconstruction by Alan Sorrell (the artist) and myself in *The Illustrated London News* (5 June 1954), pp. 956 f. The embalmment temple has not yet been found, but the following three were among its known officials: [Holder] of the Gold Seal of Cheops, [Keeper] of the Gates, and Secretary (Reisner, *Giza*, ii. pp. 48 ff.)

² Cf. Reisner, *Giza*, ii. p. 6.

³ She is wrongly called the "daughter of Cheops" in Herodotus, ii, 126.

the famous secret tomb of Hetep-heres I ("May-her-face-be-happy"), the mother of Cheops, situated not far from the pyramid of queen Merytyetes.¹

III. THE PYRAMID COMPLEX OF CHEPHREN

The pyramid itself is the second one in size at El-Gîza, and originally measured $707\frac{3}{4}$ feet at each side of the base and was 471 feet high. As it stands, the great monument of limestone, having its two foundation courses of red granite, small pyramid for the queen on the south side, mortuary temple, causeway, and embalmment temple, give the best idea to-day of what a pyramid complex of the Fourth Dynasty looked like. The sphinx and its temple have already been mentioned before. The red granite sarcophagus is sunk in the floor of the burial chamber in the pyramid up to the level of its lid. An inscription of a certain Mey, an overseer of building works in Heliopolis under the Nineteenth Dynasty (1314-1200 B.C.), which is cut in the face of a quarry to the north of the pyramid, seems to indicate that Chephren's mortuary temple was partly destroyed by that official and its stone used for constructing new buildings elsewhere. To the west of the pyramid are the remains either of storage-magazines or of quarters of the workmen who built the complex. Near the east face of the pyramid are rough-cut troughs for boats reminding one of similar troughs near the pyramid of Cheops.² Reisner points out that the primitive appearance of the embalmment temple of Chephren is due not to its early date but to the fact that the sculptors of the period had not yet fully mastered the carving of reliefs in red granite. On the other hand they had overcome every difficulty in sculpture in the round and had "brought the statues of the king to the greatest perfection ever attained in hard

¹ Described in detail in Reisner, *op. cit.* ii. In the *Manchester Guardian*, 18 January, 1960, there appears a report made by Dr. Selim Hassan of the Egyptian Antiquities Department to the effect that the antiquities from the tomb of Hetep-heres "form one of the most magnificent collections in the world. They surpass the fabulous treasures of Tutankhamen as far as their historical, scientific and technical value is concerned. They represent the biggest discovery of this early period—about 2,000 years before the reign of Tutankhamen."

² Cf. J. P. Lauer, in *Annales du Service*, xlvii (1941), Pl. LXVIII.

stone". In the latter connection may be mentioned the beautiful diorite statue of Chephren now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

IV. THE PYRAMID COMPLEX OF MYCERINUS

This pyramid, the third one in size at El-Gîza, was once 356½ feet long at each side at the base and was 218 feet high. As was the case with the Cheops pyramid and indeed with that of Chephren, the Mycerinus pyramid had alterations and additions made in its original design (cf. BULLETIN, xliii, 488, n. 2). During the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty (663-525 B.C.) further alterations took place and the king's magnificent stone sarcophagus was placed in a new underground chamber of granite. At the same time a wooden coffin was specially constructed, parts of the lid of which are now in the British Museum. A free translation of the inscription on the lid¹ reads: "Hail Osiris, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Mycerinus, living for ever, born of heaven, conceived of Nut (the sky-goddess), heir of Geb (the earth-god). . . . Thy mother Nut spreadeth herself over thee in her name of 'Mystery-of-Heaven', and she has made thee to exist as a god to thy foes, O King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Mycerinus, living for ever." The lower part of the pyramid was cased in red granite, while the mortuary temple, like the pyramid, constructed mainly of limestone, was intended to be cased with black and red granite blocks. The embalmment temple of Mycerinus, constructed of brick, was discovered by Reisner and provided some very beautiful slate statues portraying the king accompanied by various deities, such as those of the nomes or provinces of the Hare, Jackal, Thebes, and Diospolis Parva (the modern Hîw). Each statue group formed a triad of the king, the goddess Hathor and the nome deity.² On the south side of the pyramid are three small pyramids belonging to queens of the royal family; each had a temple on its east side, and a burial chamber below ground. The small pyramid at the east seems to have been made for Khâ-merer-nebti II, chief wife of Mycerinus. One interesting event concerning Mycerinus is recorded in the

¹ Based on an extract from the old Pyramid Texts.

² Reisner, *Mycerinus*, pp. 34 ff.

El-Gîza tomb of Debehen, a palace official. It seems that one day the king was upon the road to the works of the Necropolis in order to inspect the making of his pyramid, when he happened to notice that Debehen's rock-cut tomb was unfinished; and so he considerably ordered a detail of fifty men from his own pyramid to complete the tomb. The workmen also made a portrait statue of the official.¹ The tomb is now sometimes used as a small mosque or praying place and is regarded as the sepulchre of a certain Sheikh Sidi Hamed Samân.

APPENDIX

(a) Brief accounts both of the development of the true pyramid from the stepped pyramid (which for the first time took place in the reign of Sneferu, father of Cheops) and of stepped mastabas (which began in the First Dynasty) are given in BULLETIN, xliii (1960-61), pp. 488 ff.

(b) Arranged in geographical order from north to south pyramids in Egypt existed on the following sites²: Tell Atrîb, Abu Rawâsh, El-Gîza, Zâwyet el-Aryân, Abusîr, Saqqâra, Dahshûr, Mazghûna, El-Lisht, Meydûm, Hawâra, El-Lâhûn, El-Deir el-Bahari, Western Thebes, and El-Kôlah, (near El-Kâb). With the exception of Tell Atrîb (= Athribis) in the Delta³ and of El-Kôlah on the east side of the Nile⁴ all these sites are on the western side of the river. The Ethiopian kings of the Egyptian Twenty-Fifth Dynasty (751-656 B.C.), that is to say Piankhi, Shabaka, Shabataka, Taharqa⁵ and Tanutamun, were buried in pyramids at Nûri and Kuri in the Sudân.⁶

¹ Op. cit. pp. 257 f.

² For the known names of the rulers and of their pyramids see Edwards, op. cit. pp. 243 f.

³ The pyramid at Tell Atrîb, of brick, and of unknown date and owner, no longer exists. It was found by Napoleon's great scientific expedition to Egypt. Cf. my article in *Annales du Service*, xxxviii (1938), p. 524.

⁴ For the interesting Third Dynasty pyramid at El-Kôlah see BULLETIN, xliii (1960-61), p. 489.

⁵ He is the "Tirhakah king of Ethiopia" of 2 Kings. xix. 9, who helped Hezekiah of Judah to repel the Assyrians. While with the Harvard-Boston expedition in 1923, during our excavations in the frontier fortress of Semna in the Northern Sudân (built by Senusret III, 1887-1850 B.C.), I was much interested to see the name of Taharqa deeply engraved on a fallen lintel.

⁶ For the pyramids of these Ethiopian kings see Edwards, pp. 201 ff., and fig. 30 (map).

THE QUMRAN SECT AND CHRISTIAN ORIGINS¹

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OF all the questions raised by the study of the Dead Sea Scrolls the most controversial is that of the influence of the Qumran community on the Early Church, and the significance of the Scrolls for the understanding of Christian origins. That they are not without such significance most scholars would agree, but the nature of the significance can be established only by careful study of the evidence. Sometimes the evidence of the New Testament has been conjecturally read into the Scrolls to exaggerate the links, or the New Testament has been "qumranized" to eliminate patent differences. Already in 1951 one

¹ A lecture delivered in the Library series of public lectures. The following abbreviations are used in the footnotes below: *A.J.Th.* = *American Journal of Theology*; *A.Th.R.* = *Anglican Theological Review*; *B.A.* = *Biblical Archaeologist*; *Bi. Or.* = *Bibliotheca Orientalis*; *B.J.R.L.* = *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*; *B.W.* = *Biblical World*; *B.Z.N.W.* = *Beiheft zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*; *C.B.Q.* = *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*; *Hastings' D.B.* = *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*; *D.T.T.* = *Dansk Teologisk Tidsskrift*; *E.T.* = *Expository Times*; *E.Th.L.* = *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses*; *H.T.R.* = *Harvard Theological Review*; *I.L.N.* = *Illustrated London News*; *J.B.L.* = *Journal of Biblical Literature*; *J.E.O.L.* = *Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux*; *J.J.S.* = *Journal of Jewish Studies*; *J.Q.R.* = *Jewish Quarterly Review*; *J.S.S.* = *Journal of Semitic Studies*; *J.T.S.* = *Journal of Theological Studies*; *M.G.W.J.* = *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*; *N.R.Th.* = *Nouvelle Revue Théologique*; *N.T.* = *Novum Testamentum*; *N.T.S.* = *New Testament Studies*; *O.T.S.* = *Oudtestamentische Studiën*; *P.E.Q.* = *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*; *R.B.* = *Revue Biblique*; *R.E.J.* = *Revue des Études juives*; *R.H.P.R.* = *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses*; *R.H.R.* = *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*; *R.Q.* = *Revue de Qumran*; *S.D.B.* = *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible*; *S.E.Å.* = *Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok*; *S.J.Th.* = *Scottish Journal of Theology*; *S.N.T.* = *The Scrolls and the New Testament* (ed. by K. Stendahl); *S.Th.* = *Studia Theologica*; *Th.L.Z.* = *Theologische Literaturzeitung*; *Th.Z.* = *Theologische Zeitschrift*; *T.W.N.T.* = *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*; *V.T.* = *Vetus Testamentum*; *Z.A.W.* = *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*; *Z.K.Th.* = *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie*; *Z.N.W.* = *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*; *Z.R.G.G.* = *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte*.

writer in a French journal suffered himself to be so far carried away as to write: "Henceforth . . . we *know* that the Messiah of Galilee has contributed nothing, absolutely nothing, which was not long familiar to those who believed in the New Covenant",¹ i.e. to the members of the Qumran sect, who are referred to in one of the works which they treasured as those who entered into the New Covenant in the land of Damascus.² How true or false this sweeping judgement is we shall perhaps see better after we have looked at the evidence.

For our present purpose the pre-Christian origin of the Qumran sect will be accepted without discussion. While there are still a few writers who maintain that the Scrolls are of post-Christ origin,³ the overwhelming majority hold them to be pre-Christian. They do not agree as to the precise period in which the work of the Teacher of Righteousness and the founding of the sect lay, and various dates in the second or first century B.C. are favoured.⁴ The disagreements here are of little significance

¹ Étienne, in *Les Temps Modernes*, vi, no. 63 (January 1951), 1291 f. Cf. also P. Guth, *Le Figaro Littéraire*, 24 February 1951: "Entre 67 et 63 avant Jésus-Christ aurait été exécuté un premier Christ, presque semblable au second."

² *Zadokite Work* ix. 28 (p. viii, line 21, p. xix, lines 33 f.); cf. viii. 15 (p. vi, line 19). E. Lohmeyer, *Diatheke*, 1913, p. 116, records that the word "covenant" occurs thirty-five times in the *Zadokite Work*, and that this is greater than the number of occurrences in any book of the Old Testament.

³ S. Zeitlin continues to maintain that the Scrolls are medieval texts written by illiterate authors. His articles will be found in many issues of the *Jewish Quarterly Review*. J. L. Teicher, in a series of articles in the *Journal of Jewish Studies*, has argued that the Scrolls come from Ebionite Christians, for whom Paul was the Wicked Priest. H. E. del Medico, in *The Riddle of the Scrolls*, Eng. trans. by H. Garner, 1958, has assigned the Scrolls to a succession of post-Christian dates. Cecil Roth, in *The Historical Background of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1958, and in various articles, has maintained that the Scrolls were composed by Zealots and that the Teacher of Righteousness was Menahem ben Judah, who died in A.D. 66, or his kinsman, Eleazar ben Jair. G. R. Driver, who earlier favoured a later dating of the Scrolls (cf. *The Hebrew Scrolls from the Neighbourhood of Jericho and the Dead Sea*, 1951) has pushed back the date to the first century of our era, and now shares Dr. Roth's view of the Zealot origin of the sect (cf. *E.Th.L.* xxxiii (1957), 798 f.).

⁴ For a discussion of this question by the present writer, cf. *B.J.R.L.* xl (1957-8), 114 f. Dates in the second century B.C., somewhat later than those proposed by the present writer, have been advanced by J. T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea*, Eng. trans. by J. Strugnell, 1959, F. M. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumrân*, 1958, and E. F. Sutcliffe, *The Monks of Qumran*, 1960.

for the subject of the present lecture. If the Qumran sectaries already belonged to the Jewish world in which Jesus and His disciples lived, the precise date of the origin of the sect is not material to the study of the influence they may have exercised on the younger faith. Professor Barthélemy observes that through the Scrolls we can for the first time make ourselves contemporary with our Lord.¹ In the Gospels we see the Pharisees and the Sadducees through the eyes of Jesus and the Evangelists, but in the Scrolls we are able to enter into the life and thought of a third group of Jews through their own writings. This third group is identified with the Essenes by most of the scholars who have discussed the Scrolls,² though there are a few who dispute the identification.³ The Essenes are described to us from the outside by writers of the first century of our era,⁴

¹ *Scripture*, xii, No. 20 (October 1960), 119.

² This identification has been advocated by none more vigorously than by A. Dupont-Sommer. For his latest statement of the case for this view, cf. *Les Écrits esséniens découverts près de la Mer Morte* (1959), pp. 51 ff. Cf. also G. Vermès, "Essenes—Thérapeutes—Qumran", *Durham University Journal*, June 1960, pp. 97 ff.

³ Cf. M. H. Gottstein, *V.T.* iv (1954), 141 ff., where anti-Essene traits are found in the Scrolls. Cf. also B. Otzen, *S.Th.* vii (1953), 156 f. C. Rabin has argued for the identification of the sect with a Pharisaic group (*Qumran Studies*, 1957, pp. 53 ff.); J. L. Teicher for the identification with the Ebionites (see above, p. 120, n. 3); A. M. Habermann for the identification with the Sadducees (*Megilloth Midbar Yehuda*, 1959, pp. xv, 25 ff.; cf. *Ha-aretz*, 5 March 1956, and the criticism of J. M. Grintz, *ibid.* 11 May 1956; cf. also R. North, *C.B.Q.* xvii (1955), 164 ff.); C. Roth and G. R. Driver for the identification with the Zealots (see above, p. 120, n. 3). Before the discovery of the Scrolls some of these identifications of the sect had been proposed on the basis of the *Zadokite Work*. Thus L. Ginzberg (*M.G.W.J.* lvii (1913), 289 ff.), W. Staerk (*Die jüdische Gemeinde des Neuen Bundes in Damaskus*, 1922, p. 97), J. Jeremias (*Jerusalem zur Zeit Jesu*, 2nd edn., 1958, ii B, 131) and H. W. Beyer (in *T.W.N.T.* ii (1935), 614), had argued for the identification with the Pharisees; N. A. Dahl (*Das Volk Gottes*, 1941, p. 129) for the identification with an offshoot from the Pharisees; R. Leszynsky (*Die Sadduzäer*, 1912, pp. 142 ff.) for identification with the Sadducees; M.-J. Lagrange (*R.B.* xxi (1912), 335, and *Le Judaïsme avant Jésus-Christ*, 1931, pp. 332 f.) for identification with the Zealots. H. E. del Medico maintains that there never was a sect of Essenes (*Le Mythe des Esséniens*, 1958). K. H. Rengstorff argues that the Scrolls were a part of the Temple library, and that Qumran belonged to the Temple authorities (*Hirbet Qumran und die Bibliothek vom Toten Meer*, 1960).

⁴ For other ancient references to the Essenes, cf. H. Mosbech, *Essaismen*, 1916, pp. 29 ff.

by Philo,¹ Pliny² and Josephus;³ but if the Qumran sectaries were really the same as the Essenes, we see them here from the inside. There are, indeed, some differences between the Essenes as described to us by these first century writers and the sect of the Scrolls as they are reflected in the texts we now have. It is on this ground that some deny that the sect is to be identified with the Essenes. Yet the similarities are so great that it is more probable that they should be identified, and the identification is often stated categorically.⁴ The Essenes were a secret sect, whose teachings were not to be divulged outside the circle of its own members.⁵ Some knowledge of its way of life and thought must have been known outside, or it could scarcely have attracted new members. That knowledge may not have been in all respects accurate, and this could account for some of the differences between what we read in the Scrolls and the accounts of the first century writers. More of the differences can probably be accounted for by the fact that in the Scrolls we see the sect at an earlier point in its life than that reflected in the first century writers.

The members of the sect cherished messianic expectations.⁶ We know from the New Testament that such expectations were widespread, and in the second and first centuries B.C. a number of works were written in which such expectations are expressed. They are not always of a single pattern. In the New Testament we have no reference to any Messiah but the descendant of David. It is frequently stated that in the Scrolls we find the expectation of two Messiahs,⁷ a Davidic and an Aaronic, and in the *Manual*

¹ *Quod omnis probus liber sit*, xii f. (75-91); cf. Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, viii. 11.

² *Hist. Nat.* v. xv (73).

³ *Antiq.* xiii. v. 9 (171-3), xviii. i. 5 (18-22), *B.J.* ii. viii. 2-13 (119-61).

⁴ Cf. J. T. Milik, *R.B.* lxii (1955), 497 where it is said to be "absolument certaine".

⁵ Josephus, *B.J.* ii. viii. 7 (141); cf. *Manual of Discipline*, col. IX, line 17.

⁶ Cf. A. S. van der Woude, *Die messianischen Vorstellungen der Gemeinde von Qumrân*, 1957; K. Schubert, *Biblische Zeitschrift*, N.F. ii (1957), 177 ff. Cf. also E. L. Ehrlich, *Z.A.W.* lxxvii (1956), 234 ff.

⁷ Cf. M. Burrows, *A.Th.R.* xxxiv (1952), 202 ff., and *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1955, pp. 264 f.; G. Vermès, *Discovery in the Judean Desert*, 1956, p. 116; A. S. van der Woude, in *La Secte de Qumrân et les origines du Christianisme* (Recherches Bibliques IV), 1959, pp. 121 ff.; J. Liver, *H.T.R.* lii (1959), 149 ff. N. Walker

of *Discipline* we find the expression "the messiahs of Aaron and Israel".¹ We must, however, beware of reading into the term Messiah all that the term means for us. It simply means "an

(*J.B.L.* lxxvi (1957), 58) suggests that the sectaries at first looked for two Messiahs and that the fusing of the civil and priestly offices into one by John Hyrcanus led them to look for only one Messiah. It is very doubtful if the Qumran sect approved of the Hasmonaeen assumption of the high priesthood, or would be influenced in this way (cf. M. Burrows, *More Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1958, p. 298).

¹ *Manual of Discipline*, col. IX, line 11. In *Deux Manuscrits hébreux de la Mer Morte*, 1951, p. 33, del Medico rendered by the singular without comment, but in *The Riddle of the Scrolls*, p. 227, he has the plural. G. Lambert (*Le Manuel de Discipline du Désert de Juda*, 1951, p. 83) thought the plural strange, and so K. Schubert (*Z.K.Th.* lxxiv (1952), 53). M. Black (*S.J.Th.* vi (1953), 6 n., and *S.E.Â.* xviii-xix (1955), 87 ff.) renders by the singular, taking the final letter of the first word as *yodh compaginis* instead of the plural ending. As normally understood the passage speaks of the coming of the Prophet and the Messiahs of Aaron and Israel. W. H. Brownlee (*The Dead Sea Manual of Discipline*, 1951, pp. 35 f.) thought the Prophet was the Messiah, and his priestly and lay followers were referred to as "the anointed ones of Aaron and Israel" (this is rejected by P. Wernberg-Møller, *The Manual of Discipline*, 1957, p. 135). In the *Zadokite Work* there are several references to "the Messiah of Aaron and Israel" (ix. 10 [p. xix, lines 10 f.], 21 [p. xx, line 1], xv. 4 [p. xii, lines 23 f.]). It has been supposed that the *Zadokite Work* originally had the plural in these cases, and that a late scribe changed it to the singular (so J. T. Milik, *Verbum Domini*, xxx (1952), 39 f.; cf. K. G. Kuhn, *S.N.T.*, p. 59), and J. Liver (*H.T.R.* lii (1959), 152) so far outruns the evidence as to say that it is now proved conclusively that the singular is either a scribal error or an emendation. L. H. Silberman (*V.T.* v (1955), 77 ff.) questions the view that two Messiahs were expected, and thinks the sect simply looked forward to the time when the legitimate line of Aaronic priests and Davidic kings would be restored, and thinks the function of the prophet was to indicate the right persons to anoint them. Before the discovery of the *Manual of Discipline* M.-J. Lagrange (*R.B.* xxiii (1914), 135) and F. F. Hvidberg (*Menigheden af den Nye Pagt i Damascus*, 1928, p. 281) had argued that the phrase in the *Zadokite Work* indicated that the Messiah would arise from the sect, and after the discovery of the *Manual* the present writer adopted this view and pointed out that the sect is described in its text as a "house of holiness for Israel . . . and a house of unity for Aaron" (col. IX, line 6), observing that "the sect itself therefore represents Israel and Aaron, and the title of the Messiah has reference to the character of the sect, and not his personal descent" (*The Zadokite Fragments and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1952, p. 41). This view is now adopted by W. S. LaSor (*V.T.* vi (1956), 425 ff.), who thinks that the proposed emendation of the text of the *Zadokite Work* is unnecessary. W. H. Brownlee (*S.N.T.*, p. 45) regards the emendation as very risky, and so M. Delcor (*Revue Thomiste*, lviii (1958), 762, 773). N. Wieder (*J.J.S.* vi (1955), 14 ff.) has argued that the Karaites believed in two Messiahs, and Delcor (loc. cit. p. 773) thinks it improbable that Karaite scribes would have altered the text to a singular.

anointed one",¹ and in the Old Testament it is never used for the expected Davidic leader. It is used of kings and priests, and even of Cyrus.² But by the beginning of the Christian era it had become a technical term for the deliverer whose advent was awaited. It was not unnatural that an anointed High Priest, alongside the kingly Messiah, should be thought of, and especially in such a sect as that of Qumran, in which the priests had the highest place. They could therefore speak of "the anointed ones of Aaron and Israel". One of the texts, to which we shall return, makes it plain that the Aaronic anointed one should have precedence over the Davidic.³ Such a conception appears to be found also in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.⁴ The *Zadokite Work*, which has been known since the beginning of this century and which is now generally recognized to have emanated from the Qumran sect, shows that there was an expectation that the Messiah would come within forty years of the death of the Teacher of Righteousness.⁵ There are some who

¹ Silberman (loc. cit.) objected to the use of the term "Messiah" here, because of its misleading associations, and so LaSor (loc. cit.). ² Isa. xlv. 1.

³ See below, pp. 144 ff. Cf. J. Gnika, "Die Erwartung des messianischen Hohenpriesters in den Schriften von Qumran und im Neuen Testament", R.Q. ii (1960), 395 ff.

⁴ Cf. G. R. Beasley-Murray, *J.T.S.* xlviii (1949), 5 ff. This view is accepted by B. Otzen (*S.Th.* vii (1954), 151 ff.), and A. S. van der Woude (*Die messianischen Vorstellungen*, pp. 194 f.). Cf. also J. Liver, *H.T.R.* lii (1959), 163 ff. It is rejected by A. J. B. Higgins (*V.T.* iii (1953), 330), who maintains that all that the passages indicate is the superiority of the priesthood to the kingship. E. J. Bickerman (*J.B.L.* lxix (1950), 252) declares "the doctrine of the Messiah from the tribe of Levi, allegedly professed by the author" to be "a figment, created by modern readers of the work".

⁵ In ix. 21 (p. xx, line 1) there is a reference to the period from the day when the Unique Teacher was gathered in to the coming of the Messiah, while in ix. 39 (p. xx, lines 13 ff.) we are told that from the day when the Unique Teacher was gathered in until the consuming of all the men of war who returned with the Man of Falsehood would be about forty years. The Unique Teacher, or possibly the Teacher of the Community (cf. S. M. Stern, *J.B.L.* lxix (1950), 24; L. Rost, *Th.L.Z.* lxxviii (1953), 144; G. Molin, *Die Söhne des Lichtes*, 1954, p. 57), is generally identified with the Teacher of Righteousness (so R. H. Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, ii (1913), 800; G. Hölscher, *Z.N.W.* xxix (1929), 39; A. Dupont-Sommer, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, Eng. trans. by E. Margaret Rowley, 1952, p. 63), and it is probable that the destruction of the men of war was associated with the coming of the Messiah (cf. the present writer's *The Relevance of Apocalyptic*, 2nd edn., 1947, p. 76). It should be noted that L. Rost (loc. cit. cols.

think that the Teacher of Righteousness was expected himself to rise from the dead and to be the Messiah,¹ though there is little clear evidence for this² and some evidence, to which we shall come, against it. Since the Teacher of Righteousness was a priest,³ if such an expectation were held he would be thought of as an Aaronic Messiah. Already, before the discovery of the Qumran Scrolls, George Foot Moore, in discussing the *Zadokite Work*, had said that if the author had intended to identify

143 ff.) and T. H. Gaster (*The Scriptures of the Dead Sea Sect*, 1957, pp. 35 f.) differentiate the Unique Teacher from the Teacher of Righteousness, while C. Rabin (*The Zadokite Documents*, 2nd edn., 1958, p. 37 n.) does not commit himself.

¹ So A. Dupont-Sommer, op. cit. pp. 34 f., 44, *Les Écrits esséniens découverts près de la Mer Morte*, 1959, p. 123 n.; cf. C. T. Fritsch, *The Qumrân Community*, 1956, p. 82). This view is rejected by J. van der Ploeg (*Bi. Or.* viii (1951), 12 f.), J. Bonsirven (*Études*, cclxviii (1951), 216), R. de Vaux (*La Vie Intellectuelle*, April 1951, p. 67), M. Delcor (*R.B.* lviii (1951), 521 ff.), R. Tamisier (*Scripture*, v (1952), 37 f.), M. Black (*S.E.Â.* xviii-xix (1955), 85 f.), G. Molin (*Die Söhne des Lichtes*, 1954, p. 148), and F. F. Bruce (*The Modern Churchman*, N.S. iv (1960-1), 51). Before the discovery of the Scrolls, in discussing the *Zadokite Work*, the view that the Teacher was expected to rise and be the Messiah had been advanced by S. Schechter (*Fragments of a Zadokite Work*, 1910, p. xiii; cf. G. Margoliouth (*Expositor*, 8th ser., ii (1911), 517)), and rejected by G. F. Moore (*H.T.R.* iv (1911), 342), J. A. Montgomery (*B.W.*, N.S. xxxviii (1911), 376), and J. B. Frey (*S.D.B.* i (1928), 397). J. D. Amusin (*The Manuscripts of the Dead Sea*, 1960, p. 251) thinks the Teacher was expected to return, and that this expectation later gave rise to the myth of the risen and returning Christ. This is surely rather much to hang on a single obscure and doubtful passage! (Amusin's book is in Russian and therefore inaccessible to me. I am indebted to the author for a copy and to Mr. Arie Rubinstein for access to its contents.)

² Cf. J. van der Ploeg, *The Excavations at Qumran*, Eng. trans. by K. Smyth, 1958, p. 203: "There is no mention in the Qumran writings of any resurrection of the Teacher or of his second coming as Judge. That he 'appeared' after his death to Jerusalem when Pompey took it in 63 B.C. is something that Dupont-Sommer invented." Cf. K. Smyth, *The Furrow*, April 1957, p. 222: "Dupont-Sommer reached this result by remoulding a few lines of the Habacuc Commentary nearer to his heart's desire, with the help of mis-translations, mis-readings of text, and the insertion of his own matter into lacunae." Cf. also J. Carmignac, *R.Q.* i (1958-9), 235 ff. On the rendering of the word "appeared" in *Habakkuk Commentary*, col. XI, line 7, cf. Carmignac *Le Docteur de Justice et Jésus-Christ*, 1957, pp. 38 ff.

³ Cf. *P.E.Q.* lxxxvi (1954), 69 ff., where in a fragment of a commentary on Ps. xxxvii (col. II, line 15), published by J. M. Allegro, we find a reference to "the Priest, the Teacher of Righteousness". Cf. also *Habakkuk Commentary*, col. II, line 8.

the Teacher of Righteousness with the coming Messiah, he would have expressed so singular and significant a belief unmistakably.¹

It is already clear that the messianism of the Qumran sect was very different from that of the New Testament. For the Church Jesus was the Messiah, and it had no place for a second. The thought of his Messiahship was drawn from the Old Testament and not from Qumran. He was believed to be the Davidic Messiah, and it is hard to suppose that for Jesus or his followers any priestly Messiah was contemplated as having precedence over Him. No such idea appears anywhere in the New Testament.

It is true that in the Epistle to the Hebrews the work of Christ is interpreted in priestly terms. But the priest is not a second figure who stands beside and above Jesus. He is identified with Jesus. Nor is the priesthood of Jesus, as it is set forth in this Epistle, an Aaronic priesthood.² It is specifically dissociated from such a priesthood, and described as a priesthood after the order of Melchizedek. The Qumran sectaries called their priestly members Sons of Zadok,³ and it is probable that by this name they indicated their rejection of any other High Priest than one of the family of Zadok, who was the Jerusalem priest of the time of David and Solomon. They did not offer

¹ *H.T.R.* iv (1911), 342.

² Cf. F. F. Bruce, *N.T.S.* ii (1955-6), 180 f.

³ *Zadokite Work* vi. 2 (p. iv, line 3), *Manual of Discipline* col. V, line 2, *The Rule of the Congregation*, col. I, lines 2, 24, col. II, line 3 (Barthélemy and Milik, *Qumran Cave I*, 1955, p. 110), *Benedictions*, col. III, line 22 (*ibid.* p. 124). In the *Manual of Discipline*, col. IX, line 14, we find *bny ḥšdwk* (P. Wernberg-Møller, in *The Manual of Discipline*, 1957, p. 42, proposed to read here *ḥšdyk*, but in *R.Q.* ii (1960), 233, he withdraws this reading; cf. M. Martin, *The Scribal Character of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ii (1958), 443), where the use of the article is strange if the meaning is "sons of Zadok" (so rendered by W. H. Brownlee, *The Dead Sea Manual of Discipline*, 1951, p. 36; K. Schubert, *Z.K.Th.* vol. lxxiv, 1952; H. Bardtke, *Die Handschriftenfunde am Toten Meer*, 2nd edn., 1953, p. 102; P. Wernberg-Møller, *op. cit.* p. 27; E. F. Sutcliffe, *The Monks of Qumran*, 1960, p. 154). It has frequently been said, by the present writer among others, that the members of the sect called themselves the "sons of Zadok", but Wernberg-Møller shows (*V.T.* iii (1953), 311 ff.; cf. *The Manual of Discipline*, p. 90) that the "sons of Zadok" are conceived as the priestly members of the sect as opposed to the lay members (so also J. M. Grintz, *Ha-aretz*, 11 May 1956).

sacrifices in the Temple,¹ and it is probable that this was because they did not recognize the priesthood there as in the true line of succession from Zadok, and not because they rejected the Temple cultus in itself.² They looked for a rightful priest, and in their organization the priests were accorded the place of honour.³ Jesus was not a priest, and did not function as such in the company of his disciples. When the Epistle to the Hebrews presents his work in priestly terms, his priesthood is exercised in a single act, and it takes place not in the Temple but on Calvary, where He offered Himself.

We know very little of the life of the Teacher of Righteousness. The references to him in the Scrolls indicate that he lived in stormy times and was opposed by one who is called the Wicked Priest, who persecuted him. The *Zadokite Work* speaks of his being "gathered in",⁴ and this expression is used in the Old Testament for natural death.⁵ There is an obscure passage in

¹ There are references to sacrifices in *Zadokite Work* xiii. 27, xiv. 1 (p. xi, lines 17-21), which probably dates from the time before the breach with the Temple was complete. But the later texts do not speak of such sacrifices being offered. On Josephus's statement about the Essenes and sacrifice see below, p. 131, n. 7. On the significance of the bones of animals found at Qumran, cf. R. de Vaux, *R.B.* lxiii (1956), 549 f., and J. van der Ploeg, *J.S.S.* ii (1957), 172 f.

² Cf. J. M. Baumgarten, *H.T.R.* xlvi (1953), 153 f.; J. Carmignac, *R.B.* lxiii (1956), 524 f.; M. Burrows, *More Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 258; K. Schubert, *The Dead Sea Community*, Eng. trans. by J. W. Doberstein, 1959, p. 56; E. F. Sutcliffe, op. cit., pp. 82 f.; also cf. H. Mosbech, *Essæismen*, 1916, pp. 263 ff. O. Cullmann (*E.T.* lxxi (1959-60), 39) thinks it likely that the sectaries considered their separation from Jerusalem was only temporary, but says (pp. 39 f.); "Although in principle the specific rites of Qumran were not at all considered to be *opposed* to the bloody sacrifices, the long exclusive practice of their particular rites, baptism and the sacred meal, and the long abstention from sacrifices must sooner or later have given birth to the idea that sacrifices were not at all pleasing to God."

³ Cf. *Manual of Discipline*, cols. V, lines 2 f., IX, line 7.

⁴ *Zadokite Work* ix. 21 (p. xx, line 1), ix. 39 (p. xx, line 14).

⁵ For a careful study of the use of this expression, cf. B. Alfrink, *O.T.S.* v (1948), 118 ff. K. Schubert (*Z.K.Th.* lxxiv (1952), 25) holds that the language in the *Zadokite Work* implies the natural death of the Teacher, and so J. Carmignac (*Le Docteur de Justice et Jésus-Christ*, 1957, p. 55), J. Bourke (*Blackfriars*, xl (1959), 165), and M. Delcor (*Revue Thomiste*, lix (1959), 145). J. van der Ploeg (*The Excavations at Qumran*, p. 202) says: "That the Teacher was put to death is an assumption that still lacks confirmation from the texts."

the *Habakkuk Commentary* which is believed by many scholars to mean that he suffered martyrdom.¹ In another text there is a reference to an enemy of the sect, called the Lion of Wrath, who hung men alive.² It is probable that this refers to crucifixion, and it has therefore been held that the Teacher of Righteousness was crucified,³ and thus suffered the same death as Jesus. If this were established beyond any doubt, it would have no special significance. Many others had been crucified before Jesus, and not a few had suffered this death as martyrs for their faith. In fact, the text that mentions the crucifixions does not mention the Teacher of Righteousness. How he died we have no means of knowing.

More important than the manner of his death is the significance attached to it by his followers. In the New Testament the death and resurrection of Jesus do not figure each in a single, obscure passage, but throughout the whole, and they are fundamental for the understanding of the entire theology of the Church from its earliest days. Whatever the Church derived from Qumran it did not derive this. Even if the Teacher of Righteousness was in fact crucified and was expected to rise from the dead, his death and resurrection did not dominate the thought and faith of the Qumran sect,⁴ and no one could read the Scrolls and the

¹ *Habakkuk Commentary*, col. XI, line 5. Several writers have denied Dupont-Sommer's interpretation of this passage. Cf. E. Cavaignac, *R.H.R.* cxxxviii (1950), 156 f.; M. Delcor, *Essai sur le Midrash d'Habacuc*, 1951, p. 44; M. H. Segal, *J.B.L.* lxx (1951), 142; R. Tamisier, *Scripture*, v (1952-3), 38; K. Elliger, *Studien zum Habakuk-Kommentar vom Toten Meer*, 1953, pp. 281 ff. For Dupont-Sommer's defence of his view, cf. *V.T.* i (1951), 200 f. C. T. Fritsch (op. cit. p. 81) accepts the view that the Teacher of Righteousness came to a violent end at the hands of the Wicked Priest.

² Cf. J. M. Allegro, *J.B.L.* lxxv (1956), 89 ff.

³ Cf. Allegro, Letter to *The Times*, 20 March 1956 (cf. also *Time Magazine*, 6 February 1956) and *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1956, pp. 99 f. Allegro believes the Teacher of Righteousness was crucified by Alexander Jannaeus. E. Stauffer, on the other hand, identifies the Teacher with Jose ben Joezer, who was crucified in Maccabean times (*Z.R.G.G.* viii (1956), 250 ff.).

⁴ There is a reference in the *Habakkuk Commentary* (col. VIII, lines 2 f.) to those who have faith in the Teacher of Righteousness, and this has been interpreted to mean that the Teacher was the object of saving faith (cf. Dupont-Sommer, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 44; C. T. Fritsch, op. cit. p. 82). Again, it will be observed, much is being based on a single passage, which does not naturally bear the meaning placed on it. Cf. O. Cullmann, *S.N.T.*, p. 23: "this faith in

New Testament without being at once aware that they move in two different theological worlds.¹ By its Christology the New Testament stands in the sharpest contrast with the Scrolls.²

It has been conjectured, though without the slightest evidence, that Jesus lived for some years amongst the Qumran sectaries.³ Professor F. C. Grant characterizes this as fantastic nonsense.⁴

the Teacher of Righteousness is not, as for Paul, faith in an *act of atonement* accomplished in the *death* of Christ for the forgiveness of sins. In fact, the concept of faith itself is different, containing nothing of the sense of opposition to the works of the law." The meaning here is nothing more than *fidelity* to the Teacher of Righteousness, and it is so rendered by K. Elliger, *Studien zum Habakuk-Kommentar vom Toten Meer*, 1953, p. 196: "ihrer Treue zu dem Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit" (cf. H. Bardtke, op. cit. p. 128). Cf. also J. van der Ploeg, *The Excavations at Qumran*, p. 202; E. F. Sutcliffe, *The Monks of Qumran*, p. 118. M. Burrows (*More Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 121) says: "Faith in the teacher means confidence in his teaching, not in a work of atonement accomplished by his death"; K. G. Kuhn (*S.N.T.*, p. 78) observes: "In the Qumran texts we find no trace of such an ultimately redemptive significance of a historical person." Cf. also H. Kosmala, *Hebräer-Essener-Christen*, 1959, pp. 390 f.

¹ Cf. Burrows, op. cit. pp. 66 f.: "No objective historian, whatever may be his personal belief about the resurrection of Jesus, can fail to see the decisive difference here in the beliefs of the two groups. What for the community of Qumran was at most a hope was for the Christians an accomplished fact, the guarantee of their hopes."

² Fritsch (op. cit. p. 82) says the Teacher of Righteousness must have been regarded as more than human. In this he is following Dupont-Sommer, who goes so far as to suppose that the Teacher was held to have been pre-existent as a divine being, and became incarnate (*The Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 34). This assumption is based on nothing more substantial than a reference to the Teacher's "body of flesh". Had the Teacher really been thought of as an incarnate divine being, we should have expected some clearer indication of this belief in the writings of the sect. Yet nowhere does it figure in any of their texts, or in any of the first century accounts of the Essenes. It is derived not from the literature of the sect, but from the New Testament, and then attributed to them. Cf. J. Carmignac, *Le Docteur de Justice et Jésus-Christ*, pp. 37 ff.

³ See F. C. Grant, *Ancient Judaism and the New Testament*, 1960, p. 18, where an unnamed source for the suggestion is referred to. Cf. B. Hjerl-Hansen, *R.Q.* i (1958-9), 495 ff. The suggestion had already been rejected long ago by J. B. Lightfoot, *Saint Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon*, 1900, pp. 395 ff.

⁴ Op. cit. p. 19; cf. p. 133, where he speaks of "the preposterous inferences and hypotheses which many persons have advocated since the Dead Sea Scrolls were discovered—inferences which sometimes openly betray their propounders' unfamiliarity with ancient Judaism as well as with New Testament history and exegesis." Cf. also Cullmann, *S.N.T.*, p. 18: "That Jesus was . . . a member of the Essene Community is pure and groundless speculation."

The idea that Jesus derived his teaching from the sect is one that cannot survive the most superficial examination.¹ Professor Stauffer has argued that many of the teachings of Jesus were directed expressly against the sectaries,² and that their influence on the later writers of the New Testament was greater than on Jesus Himself.³ For instance, in the New Testament we read: "Ye have heard that it was said 'You shall love your neighbour and hate your enemy'. But I say unto you 'Love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you'."⁴ It has often been pointed out by commentators that in the Old Testament we do not find the command to hate enemies.⁵ In the Scrolls, however, we do find such a command.⁶

Whether Jesus had the Qumran community in mind or not when He uttered such sayings,⁷ it is certain that his attitude on many questions was quite other than that of the sectaries.⁸ The contrast between his attitude to Sabbath observance and theirs is particularly notable. Jesus was criticized by the Pharisees for what they regarded as his laxity. But the Scrolls teach a sabbatarianism that was much more strict than that of the Pharisees, and the members of the sect would have been shocked by the saying of Jesus "The sabbath was made for man, not man

¹ Cf. M. Burrows, *More Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, pp. 88 f.; G. Graystone, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Originality of Christ*, 1956, p. 89. D. Flusser (*Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls* [Scripta Hierosolymitana, IV], 1958, 215 f.) says: "The synoptic Gospels show few and comparatively unimportant parallels to the Sectarial writings. This seems to indicate that the Scrolls will not contribute much to the understanding of the personality of Jesus and of the religious world of his disciples."

² Cf. *Die Botschaft Jesu damals und heute*, 1959, pp. 13 ff.

³ *Ibid.* p. 16.

⁴ Matt. v. 43 f.

⁵ Cf. Strack-Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament*, i (1922), 353; E. Percy, *Die Botschaft Jesu*, 1953, p. 153; K. Schubert, *S.N.T.*, p. 120.

⁶ *Manual of Discipline*, cols. I, line 10, IX, lines 21 f.; cf. col. X, lines 19 f. Cf. Morton Smith, *H.T.R.* xlv (1952), 71 ff. But cf. E. F. Sutcliffe, *R.Q.* ii (1960), 345 ff., where it is observed that there was to be no private hatred or revenge, and that the hatred enjoined in the Qumran texts was the hatred of wicked men, as in the Old Testament. There can be little doubt, however, that the enemies of the sect were regarded as wicked men.

⁷ K. Schubert (*S.N.T.*, p. 121) says Matt. v. 43 f. is to be understood within the framework of Jesus's encounter with Essene concepts. J. D. Amusin (op. cit. pp. 253 f.) thinks this passage from Matthew and also 1 John ii. 9 ff. may have been directed against the Qumran sect.

⁸ Cf. Cullmann, *S.N.T.*, pp. 30 f.

for the sabbath".¹ When Jesus was watched to see if He would heal the man with a withered hand on the sabbath, He said "What man of you, if he has one sheep and it falls into a pit on the sabbath, will not lay hold of it and lift it out? Of how much more value is a man than a sheep!"² According to the teaching of the Qumran sect neither animal nor man should be so helped on the sabbath. In the *Zadokite Work* we read: "No one should help an animal to foal on the sabbath day. And if it should drop (its foal)³ into a well or a pit, let not one raise it on the sabbath day . . . And if a man falls into a place of water or into some other place, let not one raise him⁴ with a ladder or rope or instrument."⁵

In the *Zadokite Work* there are references to offerings on the altar,⁶ but Philo tells us the Essenes did not offer sacrifices in the Temple,⁷ and in the sectarian texts found at Qumran there are

¹ Mark ii. 27.

² Matt. xii. 11 f.; cf. Luke xiv. 5. Amusin (op. cit. pp. 255 f.) thinks these passages were polemically directed against the Qumran sectaries.

³ This follows the rendering of C. Rabin (*The Zadokite Documents*, p. 56) and Gaster (op. cit. p. 87), since the verb appears to be Hiph'il. R. H. Charles (*Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, ii. 827) renders "if it falls", and so Sutcliffe (op. cit. p. 144; cf. p. 120).

⁴ This follows the rendering of Charles (loc. cit. p. 828) and Sutcliffe (op. cit. p. 144). Rabin (op. cit. p. 56) for "let not one raise him" renders "from which one cannot come up", and thus robs the sentence of its main verb, which he then conjecturally supplies as "let him bring him up". Gaster (op. cit. p. 87) does not render the negative, but emends it to yield the noun "darkness", i.e. "a place of darkness". But the context, which in a series of sayings has the negative with a verb, stating a prohibition, favours a similar construction here.

⁵ *Zadokite work*, xiii. 22-6 (p. xi, lines 13-17).

⁶ *Zadokite Work*, xiii. 27, xiv. 1 (p. xi, lines 17-21).

⁷ *Quod omnis probus liber sit*, xii (75). In Whiston's translation of Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. i. 5 (19) we find a similar statement that the Essenes did not offer sacrifices, but the text is here uncertain. The Greek manuscripts, all of which are late, do not contain the negative and say that they sent offerings to the Temple and offered sacrifices with superiority of purificatory rites, for which reason they were excluded from the common court of the Temple and offered their sacrifices by themselves. The Greek *Epitoma*, which is attested at a date earlier than surviving manuscripts of the *Antiquities*, and the Latin rendering of the *Antiquities*, which was made in the sixth century, have the negative (cf. J. Thomas, *Le Mouvement baptiste en Palestine et Syrie*, 1935, pp. 12 f.n.; also Sutcliffe, op. cit. pp. 230 f.). The rendering of Whiston is accepted by Lightfoot (op. cit. pp. 369 f.), H. Mosbech (*Essæismen*, 1916, pp. 263 ff.), J. M. Baumgarten (*H.T.R.* xlv (1953), 155), Burrows (*The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1955, p. 285), and D. H. Wallace

no references to animal sacrifices.¹ This was probably, as has been already said, due to the fact that the Jerusalem priesthood was not recognized by the sectaries as legitimate,² and on this account they had nothing to do with the Temple or its sacrifices. Jesus and his disciples did not boycott the Temple, but visited it and He taught there. When He cleansed a leper He told him to go to the Temple and offer the prescribed sacrifice.³ The Early Church did not keep away from the Temple,⁴ and

(*Th.Z.* xii (1957), 334 ff.), and it is generally believed that the Essenes did not offer sacrifices. Cf. D. Flusser, *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1958, p. 235: "As the Qumran covenanters thought that the Temple was polluted, they could not take part in the Temple service of their time. This inability to offer real sacrifices engendered an ambivalent attitude to the sacrificial rites." Fritsch (op. cit., p. 108) says the Qumran community evidently believed that sacrifices were useless. This goes too far. Cf. J. Carmignac, *R.B.* lxiii (1956), 530 f., where it is argued that the sect did not repudiate sacrifices on principle. It is hard to see how a sect which set so high a value on the Law could reject them on principle. Mlle A. Jaubert, *N.T.S.* vii (1960-1), 17, thinks the sectaries frequented the Temple and notes that one of the gates of the Temple bore their name. (Cf. M.-J. Lagrange, *Le Judasme avant Jésus-Christ*, 1931, pp. 318 f.). This does not necessarily mean that they offered sacrifices, and while the uncertain statement of Josephus cannot be pressed, the unambiguous statement of Philo should not be set aside. J. M. Allegro (*The Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 100) thinks the sect had its own altar at Qumran and there offered sacrifice, and that the Teacher of Righteousness was in the act of sacrificing when the Wicked Priest came to Qumran. But, as Burrows (*More Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 366) says, this is quite incredible, since it would be a violation of the Law which the sect was pledged to obey. F. C. Conybeare (in Hastings' *D.B.* i, 769b) suggests that the passage in Josephus does not necessarily mean that they sent animal sacrifices to the Temple, even if the negative is omitted, but argues that the sacrifices they offered by themselves were the sacrifices of a devout and reverent mind, which Philo says they offered (*Quod omnis probus liber sit*, xii (75)).

¹ Cf. Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 237: "The Manual of Discipline makes no reference at all to the temple or to sacrifice except in obviously figurative expressions." S. E. Johnson goes beyond the evidence when he roundly says that in the *Manual* the existing Temple cultus was repudiated (*S.N.T.*, p. 136). Cf. M. Delcor, *Revue Thomiste*, lviii (1958), 759. In the *War Scroll* there is a reference to the future offering of sacrifice (col. II, lines 5 f.). S. Holm-Nielson points out that in the *Hymns Scroll* there is a complete absence of references to the Temple and Temple worship (*Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran*, 1960, p. 309).

² To this it should be added that the objection of the Qumran sectaries to the official calendar (see below, pp. 147 ff.) meant that in their eyes the Jerusalem sacrifices at all the festivals were offered on the wrong days and were therefore invalid.

³ Matt. viii. 4, Mark i. 44, Luke v. 14.

⁴ Acts ii. 46, iii. 1 ff., v. 20 ff., 42.

when Paul made a vow he fulfilled it by sacrificing in the Temple.¹

The members of the sect of the Scrolls had each his place in the meetings of the sect,² and every year there was a review of the conduct of all the members, leading to advancement to a higher place or relegation to a lower.³ The disciples of Jesus were similarly interested in questions of precedence, and we read that as they walked in the way they argued with one another about their claims to the highest place.⁴ That Jesus had nothing of the Qumran attitude to such a question is beyond doubt. He rebuked his disciples for even discussing it, and said: "If anyone would be first, he must be last of all and servant of all."⁵

On the subject of ritual ablutions, the attitude of Jesus stands in complete contrast to that of the sect. There are references in the Scrolls to purificatory waters, though it is recognized that no waters can purify the man who does not obey the laws of God and submit himself to the discipline of the sect.⁶ From Josephus we learn that the Essenes bathed the whole body daily before partaking of food.⁷ While this is not stated explicitly in the Scrolls, it is probable that the members of the sect followed this practice if the sect is to be identified with the Essenes, and likely that the statement in the *Manual of Discipline* that those who sought to enter the sect could not touch "the purity of the many" before the last year of their probation⁸ is an allusion to it. The "purity of the many" is believed by many scholars to allude to the waters of purification in which the members daily bathed.⁹ That Jesus and his disciples did not follow such a practice is clear from the fact that when the disciples were criticized for not

¹ Acts xxi. 26 ff.

² *Manual of Discipline*, cols. V, lines 20 ff., VI, lines 4 f., 8 ff.

³ *Manual of Discipline*, col. II, lines 19 ff.

⁴ Mark ix. 33 ff.; cf. Luke ix. 46 ff.

⁵ Mark ix. 35.

⁶ *Manual of Discipline*, col. V, lines 13 f.

⁷ B.J. II. viii. 5 (129).

⁸ *Manual of Discipline*, col. VII, lines 18 ff.

⁹ Gaster (op. cit. p. 60) renders: "the formal state of purity enjoyed by the general membership of the community", and on p. 107, n. 58, brings this into association with the passage in Josephus. S. Lieberman thinks the meaning is the solid food of the community as opposed to liquids (*J.B.L.* lxxi (1952), 203).

even washing their hands before eating, Jesus defended them. Moreover, in the Johannine account of the Last Supper we read only of the washing of the disciples' feet by Jesus,² and not of the bathing of their body.

It has been argued that the Church owed much to the Qumran sectaries for its organization.³ It would not be surprising for, the infant Church to learn from the experience of others in this matter. The services of the Early Church were modelled on those of the Synagogue, and since in the first days the Church was regarded by its Jerusalem members as a Jewish sect it would not be remarkable if its organization was modelled on that of another contemporary Jewish sect. It is possible that the community of goods in the Jerusalem church⁴ was influenced by the community of goods at Qumran.⁵ It does not seem to have lasted long in Jerusalem, or to have been practised in the churches established elsewhere, and it cannot be said to have belonged to the essential pattern of the Church.

While the sect of the Scrolls had its headquarters at Qumran, all its members were not concentrated there. There were smaller groups scattered throughout the land.⁶ But wherever there was a company of sectaries they had at their head an officer, who presided at their meetings and without whose permission none was allowed to speak.⁷ His title⁸ may be rendered by the word

¹ Matt. xv. 1 ff., Mark vii. 1 ff.; cf. Luke xi. 37 ff.

² John xiii. 3 ff.

³ Cf. J. Schmitt, in *La Secte de Qumran* (Recherches Bibliques IV), 1959 pp. 216 ff. (p. 230: "Le judaïsme communautaire est, à n'en pas douter, le milieu d'où l'Église de Jérusalem tient les formes les plus marquantes de son organisation naissante"). The similarities between the Essenes and the Church had long been noted. F. C. Conybeare (loc. cit. p. 770b) gives an account of them, and concludes that "the most we can say is that the Christians copied many features of their organization and propagandist activity from the Essenes". Cf. also J. B. Lightfoot (op. cit. pp. 395 ff.), who recognizes Essene influence in the Church before the close of the Apostolic age.

⁴ Acts iv. 32 ff.

⁵ Cf. S. Segert, "Die Gütergemeinschaft der Essäer", in *Studia Antiqua Antonio Salač septuagenario oblata*, 1955, pp. 66 ff.

⁶ *Manual of Discipline*, col. VI, lines 3, 6; cf. Josephus, *B.J.* II. viii. 4 (124-6).

⁷ *Manual of Discipline*, col. VI, lines 8 ff.

⁸ *m^ebhakkēr*. Cf. *Zadokite Work* x. 10 f., 13 (p. ix, lines 18 f., 22), xv. 7, xvi. 1 (p. xiii, lines 6 f.), xvi. 7 f. (p. xiii, lines 13, 16), xviii. 2 (p. xiv, line 13), xix. 8, 10, 12 (p. xv, lines 8, 11, 14), *Manual of Discipline*, col. VI, lines 12, 20.

Inspector. There is a reference to an "Inspector who is over all the camps",¹ who would seem to have been the head of the whole sect. For the admission of new members an Overseer² acted in the first instance.³ Whether he is the same as the Inspector is not clear,⁴ or, if they were different persons, what the relation of the one to the other was. It had been held that the office of bishop in the Early Church corresponded to that of Inspector in the Qumran sect.⁵ This has been disputed,⁶ and the single use of the term *episkopoi*, or bishops, in the book of Acts would suggest that the office was not quite the same as that of Inspector amongst the Qumran sectaries. For Paul called the elders of the church at Ephesus to meet him at Miletus,⁷

¹ *Zadokite Work*, xvii. 6 (p. xiv, line 9).

² *paqidh*.

³ *Manual of Discipline*, col. VI, line 14.

⁴ F. M. Cross (*Ancient Library of Qumrân*, p. 176 n.) identifies them, and so J. van der Ploeg (*The Excavations at Qumran*, p. 135; cf. *Bi. Or.* ix (1952), 131b), W. H. Brownlee (*The Dead Sea Manual of Discipline*, 1951, p. 25) and P. Wernberg Möller (*The Manual of Discipline*, 1957, p. 107), while J. T. Milik holds the identification to be probable (*Ten Years of Discovery*, p. 100). On the other hand, G. Lambert (*N.R.Th.* lxxiii (1951), 944) appears to differentiate them.

⁵ Cf. I. Lévi, *R.E.J.* lxi (1911), 195; K. Kohler, *A. J. Th.* xv (1911), 416; A. Büchler, *J.Q.R.*, N.S. iii (1912-13), 464; W. Staerk, *Die jüdische Gemeinde des Neuen Bundes im Damaskus*, 1922, p. 68; G. Hölscher, *Z.N.W.* xxviii (1929), 39; J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem zur Zeit Jesu*, 2nd edn., 1958, ii B, 132 ff.; J. Daniélou, *R.H.P.R.* xxxv (1955), 111, and *Les Manuscrits de la Mer Morte et les origines du Christianisme*, 1957, pp. 36 f.

⁶ Cf. K. G. Goetz, *Z.N.W.* xxx (1931), 89 ff.; H. W. Beyer, in *T.W.N.T.* ii (1935), 614 f. Bo Reicke (*S.N.T.*, p. 154) says: "There is little reason to assume that the church got its episcopal office from the Essenes and their *mebaqqer*" (cf. *Symbolae Biblicae Upsalienses*, No. 6, 1946, p. 16 n.); cf. F. F. Bruce, *The Modern Churchman*, N.S. iv (1960-1), 53: "The *mebaqqer* or superintendent of one of the branches of the Qumran community has little in common with the Christian *episkopos* but the meaning of the title." M. Delcor (*Revue Thomiste*, lix (1959), 136) distinguishes the *m'bhakkēr* from the *episkopos* on the ground that the former was accompanied by a priest and was therefore himself a layman. It is very doubtful if this is correct, since it is unlikely that a sect which gave its leadership into the hands of priests would have put the examination of converts in lay hands. Moreover the *episkopos* was not a priest in the sense in which the priestly members of the sect were, i.e. a descendant of Aaron. Cf. R. P. C. Hanson (*A Guide to the Scrolls*, 1958, p. 67): "There is no evidence that the early Christians divided their members into 'laymen' and 'clergy or ministers' at all." Cf. also F. Nötscher, in *Die Kirche und ihre Ämter und Stände* Festgabe für Cardinal Frings, 1960, pp. 315 ff.

⁷ Acts xx. 17.

and in addressing them he called them bishops.¹ This would suggest that in the church at Ephesus there were several bishops, and not a single person with the authority of the Qumran Inspector. Similarly, Paul's letter to the Philippians is addressed to the members of the church with its bishops and deacons.² That the office of bishop later developed into something more comparable with the inspectorship of the Qumran sect³ is not evidence that the Church took this over from the sect, but would suggest that it developed in the life and experience of the Church. The term *episkopos* closely corresponds in meaning with the Qumran term Overseer, and it may well be that the Church owed something to Qumran for the adoption of the term, though the total organization of the Church was very different from that of the sect.

The affairs of the sect were managed by a council of twelve members and three priests.⁴ It has been held that this means twelve men of whom three should be priests,⁵ in accordance with the sect's conceding of special influence and authority to the priests. We should more naturally understand the reference to mean that the three priests were in addition to the twelve,⁶ but we need not press that. On the view that they were within the

¹ Acts xx. 28. R.S.V. conceals the use of the word *episkopoi* here by rendering "guardians".

² Phil. i. 1. The references to bishops in 1 Tim. iii. 2, Titus i. 7, do not give any indication how many bishops there were in a single church.

³ Cf. Beyer (loc. cit. p. 615): The *m'bhakḥēr* "hat seine Entsprechung tatsächlich mehr im Bischof des 3 Jhdts als in dem, was wir von den *ἐπίσκοποι* des Urchristentums wissen".

⁴ *Manual of Discipline*, col. VIII, line 1.

⁵ C. T. Fritsch (op. cit. p. 120) states this as if it were not open to question (cf. p. 63). Bo Reicke (*S.N.T.* p. 151) says that "perhaps the inclusion of the three priests is to be preferred".

⁶ Cf. J. T. Milik (*Ten Years of Discovery*, p. 100), who thinks the twelve laymen represented the twelve tribes of Israel and the three priests the families of Levi's three sons, Gershon, Kohath and Merari. Dupont-Sommer (*Les Écrits esséniens découverts près de la Mer Morte*, 1959, p. 105 n.) inclines to follow this view, and holds that the interpretation of fifteen men is more natural (cf., *The Jewish Sect of Qumran and the Essenes*, Eng. Trans. by R. D. Barnett, 1954, pp. 81 f., where the inclusion of the three within the twelve was favoured). So R. P. C. Hanson, *A Guide to the Scrolls*, 1958, 66 ("not even the arithmetic corresponds in this alleged resemblance") and E. F. Sutcliffe, *J.S.S.* iv (1959), 134.

twelve, this has been thought to have provided the model for Jesus,¹ who chose twelve disciples, of whom three seem to have formed an inner circle. For the choice of twelve disciples there is no need to look to Qumran for inspiration. The Old Testament is a sure source for the ideas of Jesus, while the sect of Qumran is at best less sure. The twelve tribes of Israel almost certainly supplied the inspiration for both. Indeed, we find Jesus in the Gospels promising the disciples that they should sit on twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel.² Moreover, the special position of Peter, James and John³ cannot well be traced to Qumran. For in the organization of the sect the three, whether within or without the twelve, were priests, and this was fundamental to the whole spirit of the sect. Peter, James and John were not priests. The members of the sect were divided into three categories, according to the *Manual of Discipline*.⁴ These were priests, Levites, and lay members. According to the *Zadokite Work* there were four categories, priests, Levites, children of Israel, and proselytes.⁵ Here there is no necessary contradiction,⁶ since the *Manual of Discipline* tells us of the long probation of those who joined the sect, who stood outside the full membership of the sect.⁷ It is probable that these correspond to the proselytes of the other text.⁸ In the Early Church we find nothing of this, and there is no evidence that priests or Levites had any special status within the Church.⁹

¹ Cf. C. T. Fritsch, op. cit. p. 120. Bo Reicke (*S.N.T.*, pp. 151 f.) notes a parallel, but adds that "we cannot say that Jesus is directly dependent on the Qumran sect in this matter". Cf. J. van der Ploeg, *The Excavations at Qumran*, p. 135.

² Matt. xix. 28, Luke xxii. 30.

³ O. Cullmann (*S.N.T.*, p. 21) thinks the three priests may have had their parallel in the three pillars of Gal. ii. 9 f.: James, Cephas and John. Cf. S. E. Johnson, *ibid.* p. 134; Bo Reicke, *ibid.* p. 151; J. van der Ploeg, loc. cit.

⁴ *Manual of Discipline*, col. II, lines 19 ff.

⁵ *Zadokite work*, xvii. 1 ff. (p. xiv, lines 3 ff.).

⁶ M. Burrows (*O.T.S.* viii (1950), 184) says the *Zadokite Work* adds a fourth class to the threefold classification of the *Manual*.

⁷ *Manual of Discipline*, col. VI, lines 13 ff.

⁸ Nowhere does the Qumran community show any interest in the making of converts from the Gentiles, and the proselytes of the *Zadokite Work* were almost certainly Jewish converts to the sect, just like the postulants of the *Manual*.

⁹ We are told in Acts vi. 7 that many priests accepted the Christian faith, but there is no evidence that they had any special status.

In estimating the relations between the Church and the sect, similarities and differences must alike be taken into account.

Again, in the organization of the sect the twelve men and three priests would seem to have a permanent place as the supreme council of the community.¹ In the Church the twelve disciples did not form part of the enduring pattern of the organization. When Judas was replaced by Matthias,² it was not with the idea of maintaining a constant council of twelve living members. As Professor Manson has pointed out, when James was martyred by Herod Agrippa,³ his place was not filled. This, as Professor Manson says, was because his place was not vacant.⁴ Judas had forfeited his place by his misconduct and not by his death. The twelve disciples had been promised that they should judge the twelve tribes of Israel⁵ and the Early Church took this literally and believed that James would be raised from the dead to take his place. But this could not apply to Judas, and therefore his place was filled. It was filled by one who had companied with the disciples throughout the ministry of Jesus, from the time of John the Baptist's baptism. That this was regarded as an essential qualification would imply that no permanent body of twelve living men was in mind.

The admission of new members to the sect is provided for in the *Zadokite Work* and in the *Manual of Discipline*, and is described by Josephus in his account of the Essenes. The *Zadokite Work* probably comes from a time early in the history of the sect, and the *Manual of Discipline* from a later time.⁶ The procedure was simpler as described in the *Zadokite Work*,

¹ E. F. Sutcliffe (J.S.S. iv (1959), 134 ff.) disputes this and holds that they were the first fifteen men of the Qumran community.

² Acts. i. 23 ff.

³ Acts xii. 2.

⁴ Cf. *Ethics and the Gospel*, 1960, p. 74. Cf. S. E. Johnson (S.N.T., p. 134): "A more likely supposition is that the Twelve are the community's council for the coming Messianic Age, when they will sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel."

⁵ Matt. xix. 28, Luke xxii. 30.

⁶ Cf. the present writer's paper "Some Traces of the History of the Qumran Sect", *Th.Z.* xiii (1957), 530 ff. (cf. *B.J.R.L.* xxxv (1952-3), 144 f.); cf. too P. Wernberg-Møller, *D.T.T.* xvi (1953), 115; B. Otzen, *S.Th.* vii (1953), 141; J. O. Teglbyærg, *D.T.T.* xviii (1955), 246 f.; J. van der Ploeg, *J.E.O.L.* xiv (1955-6), 104; K. Smyth, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1956, p. 7; R. P. C. Hanson, *A Guide to the Scrolls*, 1958, pp. 63 f.; and H. A. Butler, *R.Q.* ii (1960), 532 ff.

while that in the *Manual of Discipline* is closer to that described by Josephus. The *Zadokite Work* tells us that the candidate for membership was examined by the inspector as to his works, his understanding, his might, his strength, and his wealth, and if the Inspector was satisfied he was enrolled in the membership.¹ According to the *Manual of Discipline*, a candidate was examined by the Overseer, and if he was satisfied, the candidate was admitted to the covenant, but was not yet admitted to the fellowship.² He underwent an unspecified period of probation, after which he was considered by "the many"—which may mean by a general meeting of the members—and a decision was taken as to whether he should be allowed to enter on a further year of probation. During this year he was still not permitted to touch "the purity of the many".³ It is probably meant that he was not allowed to perform daily ablutions in the water used by the members of the sect.⁴ At the end of this year, he was again considered by "the many" as to his understanding of the Law and his way of life.⁵ If he was still regarded as satisfactory, his property was turned over to the sect, but was kept separate from the treasury of the sect during a final probationary period of a year.⁶ During this year he was not allowed to touch the food of the members.⁷ This may mean that he was not allowed to sit at the same table as the full members, though it has been argued that it means that he was not allowed to prepare the food for the members.⁸ At the end of this year, his case was again

¹ *Zadokite Work*, xvi. 4 f. (p. xiii, lines 11 f.).

² *Manual of Discipline*, col. VI, lines 14 ff.

³ *Manual of Discipline*, col. VI, line 16.

⁴ W. H. Brownlee (*The Dead Sea Manual of Discipline*, 1951, p. 25) brings this into connection with Josephus's phrase "the purer kind of holy water" (*B.J.* II. viii. 7 [138]), but allows that here it might include, in addition to the lustrations, the sectarian meals. Cf. *supra* p. 133, n. 9.

⁵ *Manual of Discipline*, col. VI, line 18.

⁶ *Manual of Discipline*, col. VI, lines 19 ff.

⁷ *Manual of Discipline*, col. VI, line 20. S. Lieberman (*J.B.L.* lxxi (1952), 203) thinks the word *mashkeh*, which is here used, referred to drink only. Cf. also E. F. Sutcliffe, *Heythrop Journal*, i (1960), 53 f. Others think the word, like *mishteh*, stood for the whole meal. So M. Burrows, *O.T.S.* viii (1950), 163 f.; T. H. Gaster, *op. cit.* p. 61; A. Dupont-Sommer, *Les Écrits esséniens*, p. 102.

⁸ Cf. E. F. Sutcliffe, *loc. cit.* pp. 62 f.

considered, and if he won the approval of the members he became a full member of the sect and his property was incorporated in that of the sect.¹ According to Josephus in his account of the Essenes, the preliminary period, which is undefined in the *Manual of Discipline*, lasted for a year, like the others.² During this year the candidate was subjected to the same mode of life as the members, though he was not admitted to the sect.³ If he was found satisfactory at the end of this time he was allowed to share the waters of purification used by the sect, but had two more years of probation before he was admitted to full membership.⁴

It is hard to suppose that Jesus or the first disciples copied any of this. For it would have taken three years for anyone to be fully enrolled amongst the disciples or in the Church—assuming that the initial period of probation was a year, as Josephus says. This means that none of the twelve disciples would have completed his probation during the ministry of Jesus,⁵ and so none would have been eligible for membership of the supposed council corresponding to the council of the Qumran sectaries. Nor is there any evidence that the Early Church required a period of three years of probation before admission to its membership.

This very important difference between the Church and Qumran becomes even clearer when we turn to the question of baptism. It has been maintained that Christian baptism was derived from the Qumran sect through the baptism of John, who is sometimes thought to have been a member of the sect.⁶ Of

¹ *Manual of Discipline*, col. VI, line 22.

² *B.J.* II. viii. 7 (137).

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *B.J.* II. viii. 7 (138).

⁵ The ministry of Jesus is usually thought to have lasted three years, but a one-year ministry (a common view in the 2nd and 3rd centuries) or a two-year ministry (cf. E. F. Sutcliffe, *A Two-Year Public Ministry*, 1938) has been proposed; on this question, cf. G. Ogg, *The Chronology of the Public Ministry of Jesus*, 1940.

⁶ Cf. G. L. Harding, *I.L.N.*, 3 September 1955, p. 379 ("John the Baptist was almost certainly an Essene, and must have studied and worked in this building"); J. M. Allegro, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1956, pp. 163 ff.; C. T. Fritsch, *op. cit.* pp. 112 ff.; A. Powell Davies, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1957, pp. 142 f.; W. H. Brownlee, *S.N.T.*, pp. 33 ff. (cf. p. 57: "It was John the Essene who proclaimed the coming Messianic Age in the wilderness"). J. Daniélou (*op. cit.* p. 15) says: "les découvertes des manuscrits ont confirmé de

none of this is there any evidence, and the whole character and significance of John's baptism were so different from anything that is known from Qumran that it is in the highest degree improbable.¹ All that we are concerned with here, however, is to see how far Christian baptism reflects anything of which we have knowledge in the faith and practice of the Qumran sect.²

Josephus tells us that the Essenes bathed the whole body daily before eating.³ This is not what we mean by baptism, and there is no evidence that this practice was taken over by Jesus or the Church. In the Qumran texts it is probable that the references to "the purity of the many" are to these daily ablutions.⁴ By baptism we mean a water rite of initiation, and only a rite of initiation. There is no reference either in the Scrolls or in Josephus to a special water rite of initiation amongst the Qumran sectaries or the Essenes.⁵ It is likely that the first of the daily ablutions after admission to the appropriate stage of probation would have a special character for the candidate for membership of the sect, just as the first Communion has a special character for Christians. But there is a fundamental difference

façon qui semble indubitable les contacts de Jean avec les moines de Qumrân." Cf. K. Schubert, *The Dead Sea Community*, Eng. Trans. by J. W. Doberstein, 1959, p. 126, and A. S. Geyser, *N.T.* i (1956), 70 ff. (p. 71: "we can now assume with comparative certainty that John was brought up by Essenes"). M. Delcor (*Revue Thomiste*, lviii (1958), 766) thinks it probable that as a child John came under their influence, and so J. A. T. Robinson, *H.T.R.* i (1957), 175 ff. On the other hand G. Molin (*Die Söhne des Lichtes*, 1954, p. 170) thinks this is questionable, and W. Eiss (*Qumran und die Anfänge der christlichen Gemeinde*, 1959, p. 14) thinks it very improbable. G. Graystone (*The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Originality of Christ*, 1956, p. 113; cf. pp. 93 ff.) thinks it is improbable that the Baptist ever visited Qumran. The suggestion that John may have been an Essene is no new one. It was already rejected by J. B. Lightfoot (op. cit. pp. 398 ff.).

¹ On this question, cf. the present writer's essay on "The Baptism of John and the Qumran Sect" in *New Testament Essays: Studies in memory of T. W. Manson*, 1959, pp. 218 ff.

² Cf. O. Betz, *R.Q.* i (1958-9), 213 ff.

³ *B.J.* II. viii. 5 (129).

⁴ See above, p. 133.

⁵ Cf. E. F. Sutcliffe, *Heythrop Journal*, i (1960), 179 ff. (p. 188: "There is no mention of any rite performed by one for another nor of any ablution forming part of a ceremony of initiation. Such a meaning cannot legitimately be read into the statement that admission to the two years of probation after the year of postulancy carried with it the right to share the purer waters of purification, as this implies continual use and not a single act").

between baptism and the first Communion. The one is an unrepeatable act of initiation, while the other is the first of a repeatable series of experiences. The daily ablutions of the sect were not administered rites, but washings of the body which each performed for himself. We have no evidence that the first of these ablutions was different in this respect from the rest. Christian baptism was an administered rite, as also was the baptism of John,¹ and we have no evidence that either was followed by similar daily rites. Both were rites of initiation and only of initiation.

A further notable difference that is relevant to our discussion of the organization of the sect and of the Church is in the timing of the experience. If it were established that the form of the first Essene ablution coincided with the form of Christian baptism, we should still have to note that the former did not take place until the end of the second period of probation, according to the *Manual of Discipline*, or the end of the first, according to Josephus—i.e. until after at least a year, and perhaps two years. In the New Testament we read that on the day of Pentecost three thousand people were converted by the preaching of Peter, and they were baptized the same day.² When Philip fell in with the Ethiopian eunuch and joined him in his chariot, they stopped when they came to water, and the eunuch was immediately baptized.³ Again, when Paul converted the Philippian gaoler, he baptized him the same night.⁴

Yet even if the first Essene ablution could rightly be regarded as identical with Christian baptism in its form and its timing, we should still have to ask how far the two accorded in significance.

¹ Cf. John i. 25 f., where we are told that John baptized, or Mark i. 9, Matt. iii. 13, where we are told that Jesus was baptized by John. Whether John plunged a man under the water, or whether the person baptized plunged himself, we do not know; but in either case it was an administered rite, and in this respect comparable with Jewish proselyte baptism (cf. T. B. *Yebamoth*, 47 ab), as distinct from ordinary Jewish lustrations or the daily ablutions of the sect. Nowhere in the Scrolls or in the first century accounts of the Essenes is there any reference to an administered rite of baptism. Cf. J. Daniélou, *R.H.P.R.* xxxv (1955), 106: "En effet, dans l'essénisme, il s'agit de participation aux bains rituels de la communauté et non d'un rite spécial d'initiation."

² Acts ii. 41.

³ Acts viii. 36 ff.

⁴ Acts xvi. 33.

Christian baptism betokens a relation to Christ, whereas we have no knowledge of anything comparable with this in the sect of the Scrolls. The Teacher of Righteousness is unmentioned in any reference to Essene ablutions, and there is no reason to suppose that the first ablution, or any ablution, betokened any relation to him. While there is little reason to trace the form of Christian baptism to the Qumran sect, there is even less to look there for the origin of its significance.

In his account of the Essenes Josephus has given us a picture of their daily meals,¹ of which the members partook in solemn silence, and this has been held to be the source of the Christian Eucharist.² The *Manual of Discipline* tells us that only when one had been admitted to full membership of the Qumran sect could he be allowed to touch the "drink" of the members.³ This is probably an allusion to the daily meals of the Qumran community.⁴ It may be allowed that during the period when the members of the Jerusalem church had all things common its members shared a daily table. But this is not to be identified with the Eucharist without more ado; nor if it were could the Eucharist then be traced back to Qumran. During the ministry of Jesus, our Lord and his disciples doubtless ate together. But the Last Supper is not merely one of such meals. It had a special character, and the Eucharist of the Church does not commemorate the daily meals of Jesus and his disciples or even the last of a series. It commemorates the character of that meal in itself, without reference to any that had preceded it, and its character derived from its association with the imminent death of Jesus. We have no knowledge of any such commemorative character of the meals of the sect. Nowhere in Josephus or in the Scrolls is the Teacher of Righteousness mentioned in connection with the meals. So far as we know, they did not betoken any relationship

¹ B.J. II. viii. 5 f. (129-33).

² Cf. A. Powell Davies, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1957, p. 130: "The early Christian sacrament was the Essenic sacrament with, perhaps, some Christian adaptations". Cf. also D. Howlett, *The Essenes and Christianity*, 1957, p. 147.

³ *Manual of Discipline*, col. VI, line 20.

⁴ See above, p. 139, n. 7.

between the members and him, or commemorate any incident of his life or the moment of his death. In this they differ *toto coelo* from the Christian sacrament.

One writer on the Scrolls has observed that the presiding priest at the sacred meals of the sect may have said: "This is my body", and that the wine that was drunk may have been thought of as the blood of the Messiah. He then concludes that the sacred meal of the sect was almost identical with the Christian sacrament.¹ Such nonsense is an insult to the intelligence of his readers. If the account of the meals of the sect is imaginatively reconstructed from the New Testament, it is not surprising that similarities are found, since they are first unwarrantably imposed without a shred of evidence. It should be clear to any ordinary intelligence that we can only discuss the relation of the Scrolls to the New Testament if we let each literature speak for itself, and refrain from tampering with the evidence to make it say what we wish to find.²

The daily meals of the sect are more naturally understood in terms of the communal meals of monastic orders,³ which no members of such orders would confuse with the sacrament. They are sacred meals in the sense that the members are conscious that they belong to a religious order, and they are eaten with a solemnity and a quiet which is appropriate to the presence of the God whose blessing is invoked.

Reference has already been made to a passage which indicates that in the messianic expectation of the sect the Aaronic anointed one should have precedence over the Davidic. This passage⁴ describes what is often called the messianic banquet. It says that in the days of the Messiah, he should come with the priests and members of the sect and they should sit down in the

¹ Cf. A. Powell Davies, *op. cit.* p. 130.

² It is curious that Powell Davies should say "there is no certainty that the accounts of the Lord's Supper in the New Testament have not been edited to accord with the practice of a later time" (*ibid.*). There is complete certainty that he has edited his account of the meal of the Qumran sect to accord with his own theory.

³ Cf. J. van der Ploeg, *J.S.S.* ii (1957), 163 ff., and *The Excavations at Qumran*, p. 213; E. F. Sutcliffe, *Heythrop Journal*, i (1960), 48 ff.

⁴ *The Rule of the Congregation*, col. II, lines 11 ff.

order of their dignity. No one should eat until the priest had first blessed the food, and then the priest should eat first, and after him the Messiah of Israel, followed by the rest of the company, each in the order of his dignity. The text continues by saying that in accordance with this rule the members of the sect should act at every meal, when at least ten are assembled.¹ It is clear, therefore, that this is not really a description of any special messianic banquet.² It is a description of the regular meals of the sect, and the Messiah takes no special part in it. If he should be present, he should occupy the second place, but beyond that the meal is conceived as an ordinary meal, and no sacramental significance is given to it.

This passage is important in another connection, to which reference has also been made. It says: "If God should cause the Messiah to be born³ in their time", his place should be as defined.⁴ It is clear that he is the lay Messiah, since he is called the Messiah of Israel and yields precedence to the priest. The one who presides at the meal is simply called the priest. It has been said already that this passage is often held to contemplate two Messiahs,⁵ a lay and a priestly, and it well illustrates the

¹ *The Rule of the Congregation*, col. II, lines 21 f.

² Cf. M. Burrows, *More Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 101; T. H. Gaster, op. cit. p. 29; also J. van der Ploeg, *The Excavations at Qumran*, p. 213: "The text of the Two Column Document as a whole does not give the impression that it means to describe a sacred or 'Messianic' banquet." J. D. Amusin (op. cit. pp. 241 f.), while finding a messianic colouring in this text, is cautious about any possible connection with the significance of the Last Supper.

³ D. Barthélemy (*Qumran Cave I*, 1955, p. 117), adopting a suggestion of J. T. Milik's, emends the text to read "brings" instead of "causes to be born", and this is adopted by F. M. Cross (*The Ancient Library of Qumrân*, p. 64). R. Gordis (*V.T.* vii (1957), 191 ff.) argues against Milik's emendation. T. H. Gaster (op. cit. p. 260) similarly rejects this "daring but unfortunate conjecture", and proposes a different emendation, to yield the sense "when the Messiah is present". Cross (loc. cit.) says this is to be rejected categorically. Y. Yadin (*J.B.L.* lxxviii (1959), 240 f.) proposes yet another emendation, to yield the sense "on the occasion of their meeting". The reading of the MS. is beyond question, and it should probably be understood, with Burrows (op. cit., p. 303) in the same way as Ps. ii. 7, where it refers to the adoption and establishment of the King as God's son. Similarly A. Dupont-Sommer, *Les Écrits esséniens*, p. 123 n. Cf. also E. F. Sutcliffe, *R.Q.* ii (1960), 541 ff.

⁴ *The Rule of the Congregation*, col. II, lines 11 f.

⁵ See above, p. 124.

danger of the use of the word Messiah, instead of "anointed one". For while it is clear that the lay Messiah is here the coming expected one who should restore the kingdom,¹ it is equally clear that the priest is just the person who happens to be the head of the community at that time. Though he was an anointed one, no reference is made to that here, and we have no business to import the term Messiah, with all that it signifies to us, into this passage.² If the priestly Messiah, who should take precedence of the Davidic Messiah in the messianic age, had really been thought of as the risen Teacher of Righteousness, it would be nothing short of astonishing for him to be introduced without the slightest reference to this remarkable expectation. What those who suppose the sect cherished this hope need to do is not merely to press a doubtful interpretation of a passage in another text, but to explain the complete absence of any allusion to it here.

Philo tells us that the Essenes were a pacific sect.³ But there is no reason to suppose that they conceived the Davidic Messiah in any other than the conquering terms that characterized the popular expectation in the time of Jesus. They cherished the text described as the *War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness*, which kept alive dreams of the day when the nations of the world should be successively destroyed in battle. Jesus discouraged any reference to Himself as the Messiah, because He conceived his messiahship in quite other terms. It was not by killing but by dying that He purposed to save his people. The Qumran sect seem to have abandoned their pacific way of life in the war with Rome and to have joined the rebels⁴ in the belief that the long dreamed of time for the establishment of the

¹ Cf. the text published by J. M. Allegro in *J.B.L.* lxxv (1956), 174 f., where there is a reference to the rightful Messiah of the house of David.

² Cf. M. Black, in *Studia Patristica*, ed. by K. Aland and F. L. Cross, i (1957), 447: "The fact that the High Priest takes precedence of the Messiah of Israel may mean very little; presumably he would do so in any Temple rite or priestly function, but this does not mean that we are to regard the High Priest as in the strict sense a 'Messianic' figure."

³ *Quod omnis probus liber sit*, xii (78).

⁴ Mlle A. Jaubert thinks the Zealots were an offshoot from the Essenes (*N.T.S.* vii (1960-1), 12). Hippolytus (*Ref. omn. haer.* ix. 26) reckoned the Zealots among the Essenes.

kingdom had come. It was during the war with Rome that the Qumran centre was destroyed, and Josephus tells us the Romans persecuted the Essenes with the utmost cruelty,¹ while they bore themselves with superhuman fortitude. One of the Essenes became a commander in the rebel forces.² All this stands in the strongest contrast to our Lord's conception of the way the kingdom would be established.

The Copper Scroll, which records the places where vast quantities of treasure were hidden, is probably an inventory of Temple treasure, as Dr. Rabin first suggested.³ By some it has been thought to record mere folklore,⁴ but it seems improbable that copper would be used for such a purpose. If it is an inventory of Temple treasure, it is likely that it was prepared by the rebels who had charge of the Temple. There were two copies of this inventory,⁵ one deposited in one of the Qumran caves and one deposited elsewhere. Doubtless both were prepared in the same place, and there is no reason to think that was at Qumran,⁶ where texts on quite different materials were copied. Jerusalem would be the most natural place, since it was from there that the treasure was distributed. But the deposit of one of the copies in one of the Qumran caves would strengthen the suggestion that in the time of the war against Rome the Zealots regarded the Essenes as their trusted allies. Their conception of the messianic age was thus very different from that of Jesus, and He can scarcely be supposed to have derived his from them.

The Qumran sect did not use the current official calendar, but used one which ensured that the festivals should fall on the same

¹ *B.J.* II. viii. 10 (152 f.).

² *B.J.* II. xx 4 (567).

³ *The Jewish Chronicle*, 15 June 1956, p. 19. So also K. G. Kuhn, *Th.L.Z.* lxxxi (1956), 541 ff. Y. Yadin (*The Message of the Scrolls*, 1957, p. 159) says it is not excluded that the Copper Scroll is a list of the treasures of the sect, and this is the view of Dupont-Sommer (*Les Écrits esséniens*, pp. 400 ff.).

⁴ So J. T. Milik, *B.A.* xix (1956), 63, *R.B.* lxxi (1959), 322, and *Ten Years of Discovery*, pp. 42 f.; J. Jeremias, *E.T.* lxxi (1959-60), 228. This view is rejected by A. Dupont-Sommer, *Les Écrits essenienis*, pp. 397 ff.

⁵ Cf. J. M. Allegro, *The Treasure of the Copper Scroll*, 1960, p. 55 (col. XII, line 11).

⁶ So Allegro, *op. cit.* p. 125.

day of the week every year.¹ It was a fifty-two week calendar, and not a luni-solar calendar like the official Jewish calendar. It had no place for intercalary months every few years, giving years of variable length. This calendar was the calendar of the book of *Jubilees*, to which there is a reference in the *Zadokite Work*,² and fragments of which have been found amongst the Scrolls. Mlle Jaubert has very acutely argued that Jesus and his disciples followed this calendar, and has attempted by this means to resolve the vexed question of the relation of the Synoptic dating of the Last Supper and the Johannine dating.³ According to the Synoptics the Last Supper was a Passover meal, while according to the Fourth Gospel it took place before the Passover. Mlle Jaubert holds that Jesus celebrated the Passover on the sectarian date, and that it took place on Tuesday, when the Qumran Passover would fall, and adduces some patristic evidence for this date.⁴ This would allow more time for all the events that have to be fitted in between the Supper and the Crucifixion, which then took place before the official Passover day, to which the Fourth Gospel refers. It would also explain why there is no reference to a Passover lamb in any of the accounts of the Last Supper. While this is a very attractive view, it is not wholly without difficulties.⁵ Nowhere does Jesus show the slightest

¹ Cf. D. Barthélemy, *R.B.* lix (1952), 199 ff.; A. Jaubert, *V.T.* iii (1953), 250 ff., vii (1957), 35 ff., *R.H.R.* cxlvi (1954), 140 ff., *La Date de la Cène*, 1957, and *La Secte de Qumran* (Recherches Bibliques, IV), 1959, 113 ff. Cf. also J. Morgenstern, *V.T.* v (1955), 34 ff.; J. Obermann, *J.B.L.* lxxv (1956), 285 ff.; J. B. Segal, *V.T.* vii (1957), 250 ff.; E. R. Leach, *V.T.* vii (1957), 392 ff.; J.-P. Audet, *Sciences Ecclésiastiques*, x (1958), 361 ff.; S. Talmon, *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Scripta Hierosolymitana, IV), 1958, pp. 162 ff.; E. Vogt, *Biblica*, xl (1959), 102 ff.; E. Kutsch, *V.T.* xi (1961), 39 ff.

² *Zadokite Work*, xx. 1 (p. xvi, lines 2 ff.).

³ Cf. *R.H.R.* cxlvi (1954), 140 ff., *La Date de la Cène*, 1957, and *N.T.S.* vii (1960-1), 1 ff.

⁴ E. Vogt has shown that both calendar dates of Passover could fall in the same week (*Biblica*, xxxix (1958), 72 ff.).

⁵ It has been rejected by J. Blinzler (*Z.N.W.* xlix (1958), 238 ff.), P. Benoit (*R.B.* lxxv (1958), 590 ff.), and J. Jeremias (*J.T.S.* N.S. x (1959), 131 ff.). On the other hand it has been accepted by many writers, including E. Vogt (*Biblica*, xxxvi (1955), 408 ff.), P. W. Skehan (*C.B.Q.* xx (1958), 192 ff.), H. Haag (*S.D.B.* vi (Fasc. 34, 1960), 1146 f.), and, with some reservations, by R. F. McDonald (*American Ecclesiastical Review*, cxl (1959), 79 ff., 168 ff.) and J. A. Walther (*J.B.L.* lxxvii (1958), 116 ff.). M. Black (*New Testament Essays: Studies in*

interest in calendar questions,¹ and since He is reported to have visited the Temple at some of the festivals, He would appear to have observed them on the official dates.² Probably the reasons which have been already suggested for the Qumran sect's avoidance of the Temple were reinforced by the non-use of the calendar to which they attached such great importance. Mlle Jaubert has shown that this calendar was not invented by the author of *Jubilees*, but that there is evidence in the Old Testament that it was accepted by some of the sacred authors.³ It is therefore possible that others, besides the Qumran sect, clung to this calendar, though if Jesus and his disciples did in fact follow it, they could well have been influenced by the Qumran sect in so doing. It would be curious, however, for them to be so influenced in a matter which plays no part in the teaching of Jesus, when in so many ways the teaching and practice of Jesus and the Early Church show such striking differences from those of the sect.

Similarities of phrase and idea between the Scrolls and the New Testament have been noted by many writers.⁴ Professor Stauffer finds that they are closer in the case of the Evangelists and other New Testament writers than they are in the case of the teaching of Jesus Himself.⁵ Wherever they are found they can

Memory of T. W. Manson, 1959, 19 ff.) also somewhat cautiously accepts it. Cf. also C. U. Wolf, *The Christian Century*, 18 March 1959, pp. 325 ff. Mlle Jaubert has replied to Blinzler's arguments in *N.T.S.* vii (1960-1), 1 ff. M. Delcor (*Revue Thomiste*, lviii (1958), 778 f.) expresses grave objections to Mlle Jaubert's view, but the objections expressed are fully answered by her in the article cited. Further criticisms of her view are offered by M. Zerwick (*Biblica*, xxxix (1958), 508 ff.) and E. Kutsch (*V.T.* xi (1961), 39 ff.).

¹ Cf. K. Schubert, *The Dead Sea Community*, 1959, p. 142.

² Cf. J. T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery*, 1959, pp. 112 f.

³ Cf. A. Jaubert, *La Date de la Cène*, pp. 31 ff.

⁴ Before the discovery of the Scrolls Bo Reicke had collected a large number of parallels between the *Zadokite Work* and the New Testament. Cf. "The Jewish 'Damascus Documents' and the New Testament" (*Symbolae Biblicae Upsalienses*, No. 6), 1946.

⁵ Cf. *Die Botschaft Jesu damals und heute*, 1959, p. 16: "Die Qumranisierung der Jesustradition wächst mit dem zeitlichen Abstand der Traditionsträger von Jesus." M. Burrows (*More Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 103) observes that "few parallels have been found for sayings of Jesus outside of the Sermon on the Mount", while K. Schubert (*S.N.T.*, p. 273) notes that even in the Sermon on

be examined dispassionately. It has always been recognized that the uniqueness of the New Testament does not lie in the originality of the individual sayings of Jesus. Innumerable parallels to the Golden Rule have been found, not only in Jewish literature but in the literature of the world, without our being in any way troubled. The uniqueness of Jesus lies rather in the example which He Himself set and in the spring of power He offers his followers to enable them to follow his example.¹ His own eager love for men and readiness to sacrifice his life for them are set before the eyes of the Christian, who by the transmuting touch of his personality on them and by the power of his redeeming death are lifted into his spirit and given power to follow Him. And however many parallels of phrase are found in the Scrolls and the New Testament, they do not touch this profound and fundamental aspect of the uniqueness of Christ.

We must always remember that Jesus and his disciples lived in the Jewish world of a particular time, and moved in the realm of ideas of their age. The Qumran community belonged to that age, and doubtless influenced that realm of ideas, and if there are links of word and thought it was because Jesus and his followers were alive to the world in which they lived.² As one writer has

the Mount "it is remarkable that the Essene parallels are found almost exclusively in Mt. 5". J. Coppens (*Les Documents du Désert de Juda et les Origines du Christianisme*, 1953, p. 26) observes that the contacts of the Scrolls with Apostolic preaching are greater than with the teaching of Jesus. Cf. also G. Graystone, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Originality of Christ*, 1956, p. 28. J. B. Lightfoot (op. cit. p. 407) had already recognized that Essene influences came into Christianity before the close of the Apostolic age, and detected them in the Roman Christian community to which Paul wrote. O. Cullmann (*Neutestamentliche Studien für Rudolf Bultmann* [B.Z.N.W. 21], 1954, 35 ff.) has argued that Essenes joined the Jewish Christians after the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70 (cf. H. J. Schoeps, *Z.R.G.G.* vi (1954), 1 ff.).

¹ Cf. the present writer's "The Chinese Sages and the Golden Rule" (*B.J.R.L.* (1940), 321 ff.), p. 350.

² Cf. R. E. Brown (*S.N.T.*, p. 206): "The ideas of Qumran must have been fairly widespread in certain Jewish circles in the early first century A.D."; M. Burrows (*More Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 54): "If the Dead Sea Scrolls are at all typical of the language and thinking of Palestine at the time when Christianity came into being, the disciples of Jesus and Jesus himself would naturally use these forms of expression and ways of thinking whenever they could, as a means of communication". Cf. also C. G. Howie (*The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Living Church*, 1958, p. 99): "The Church and Essenism developed in

said, they show the contemporary character of the language of the New Testament;¹ or, as another puts it, "in any given age new ideas and new modes of expression pass into currency and become common property".² Nor must we forget that the Old Testament was precious to both the Qumran community and Jesus and his disciples. It formed "a common reservoir of terminology and ideas", to use the words of Professor Albright, for Jews of every sect and for Christians.³ Light and darkness are figures for the good and the bad in the *War Scroll*, and in the Fourth Gospel we find the same figures.⁴ But before we trace the one directly to the other, we should recognize that the Old Testament is the source of these figures.⁵ There the wicked are spoken of as walking in darkness and the righteous in light.⁶ Moreover, as has been said, there is difference as well as similarity here between the Scrolls and the New Testament.⁷ In the thought of the Qumran sect the battle between light and darkness was to be waged with carnal weapons, whereas to Jesus and his followers it was to be waged with spiritual weapons.

In the Scrolls we find teaching about the two ways, the way of the righteous directed by the spirit of truth and the way of the wicked directed by the spirit of perversity.⁸ In the early Christian writings, the *Epistle of Barnabas* and the *Didache*, we find the same age and came out of the same general background. Facing similar problems in like circumstances the two movements could not have been absolutely dissimilar in doctrine."

¹ Cf. R. E. Murphy, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Bible*, 1956, pp. 77 f.

² E. F. Sutcliffe, *The Monks of Qumran*, p. 118.

³ *The Background of the New Testament and its Eschatology* (C. H. Dodd, *Festschrift*), ed. by W. D. Davies and D. Daube, 1956, p. 169.

⁴ Cf. F. Nötscher, *Zur theologischen Terminologie der Qumrantexte*, 1956, pp. 92 ff.

⁵ Cf. H. M. Teeple, *N.T.* iv (1960-1), 18; Nötscher, *op. cit.* p. 129. C. G. Howie (*op. cit.* p. 89) says: "Since therefore the light-darkness motif is found both in the Qumran literature and in the New Testament, it is safe to assume that it began in its present form with the Essenes." This is to ignore the common source of both in the Old Testament.

⁶ Prov. iv. 19; Ps. xcvi. 11. Cf. also Isa. ii. 5, l. 10, lix. 9; Ps. lvi. 13 (Heb. 14).

⁷ H. Bardtke (*Die Handschriftenfunde am Toten Meer: Die Sekte von Qumrān*, 1958, p. 210) says: "Der Dualismus zwischen Licht und Finsternis begegnet uns im Johannesevangelium in einer ganz anderen Form."

⁸ *Manual of Discipline*, col. III, lines 13 ff.

find a similar thought of the two ways.¹ While these early Christian writings may owe much, directly or indirectly, to the Qumran sect,² we should remember that the same thought is already found in Psalm i.

We have already noted the Gospel passage in which the twelve disciples are promised that they shall sit on twelve thrones to judge the twelve tribes of Israel. In the Habakkuk Commentary we read that "in the hands of his elect God will put the judgement of all the nations."³ Here again, it is probable that both are based on the thought of Daniel vii, which promised the everlasting dominion to the saints of the Most High,⁴ though we should not forget that the Qumran sectaries looked for physical triumph over their foes, while the New Testament passage does not.

Reference has already been made to the fact that the Qumran community referred to themselves as those who had entered into the new covenant.⁵ This immediately recalls our Lord's reference at the Last Supper to the new covenant.⁶ Here again it is unnecessary to derive the one from the other, since both derive from Jeremiah xxxi. 31. Moreover, there is a great difference between the Scrolls and the New Testament here. Sutcliffe says: "The Christian covenant was in reality new and brought with it the abrogation of the levitical, but not the moral, precepts of the Old Law. The covenant of the brotherhood was not a new one but a renewal of the obligation to observe the old and indeed in its strictest interpretation."⁷

A more interesting link between the Scrolls and the New Testament is to be found in the injunction in the *Zadokite Work*

¹ *Ep. Barnabas*, xviii-xx, *Didache*, i-v.

² On the Scrolls and the Epistle of Barnabas, cf. L. W. Barnard, *S.J.Th.* xiii (1960), 45 ff.; on the Scrolls and the *Didache* and the *Shepherd of Hermas*, cf. J.-P. Audet, *R.B.* lix (1952), 219 ff., lx (1953), 41 ff. Cf. also J. D. Amusin, op. cit. p. 248.

³ *Habakkuk Commentary*, col. V, line 4.

⁴ Dan. vii. 27.

⁵ *Zadokite Work*, viii. 15 (p. vi, line 19), ix. 28 (pp. viii, line 21, xix. 33 f.), viii. 37 (p. xx, line 12).

⁶ Matt. xxvi. 28, Mark xiv. 24 (in both the best manuscripts omit "new"); Luke xxii. 20 (the whole verse is omitted by some manuscripts; 1 Cor. xi. 25).

⁷ *The Monks of Qumran*, p. 120. Cf. D. Flusser, *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Scripta Hierosolymitana, IV), 1958, pp. 236 ff.

that none may bring a charge against a fellow-member unless he has previously reproved him before witnesses.¹ In Matthew xviii. 15 ff. Jesus gave similar teaching, saying that one who is wronged should first speak in private to the one who wronged him, and then before witnesses, and only finally bring the matter to the church.

It is impossible for us here to examine all the links of this kind that have been found. Some writers have directed attention to the special closeness of those links between the Fourth Gospel and the Scrolls,² while others have examined the Pauline links,³

¹ *Zadokite Work*, x. 2 (p. ix, line 3).

² Cf. W. Grossouw, *Studia Catholica*, xxvi (1951), 295 ff.; Lucetta Mowry, *B.A.* xvii (1954), 78 ff.; F. M. Braun, *R.B.* lxii (1955), 5 ff.; W. F. Albright, loc. cit. pp. 153 ff.; R. E. Brown, *S.N.T.*, pp. 183 ff. (cf. p. 195: "in no other literature do we have so close a terminological and ideological parallel to Johannine usage"; p. 205: "there remains a tremendous chasm of thought between Qumran and Christianity"); A. R. C. Leane, *A Guide to the Scrolls*, 1958, pp. 95 ff.; G. Baumbach, *Qumrân und das Johannes-Evangelium*, 1958. W. H. Brownlee (*S.N.T.*, p. 46) goes so far as to say: "one may almost say that in John's portrayal of Jesus we have the Essene Christ", while O. Cullmann (ibid. p. 22) says the Fourth Gospel "belongs to an ideological atmosphere most clearly related to that of the new texts", and K. G. Kuhn (*Z.K.Th.* xlvii (1950), 210) says: "wir bekommen in diesen neuen Texten den Mutterboden des Johannes-evangeliums zu fassen." Cf. however, the more cautious assessment of H. M. Teeple, *N.T.* iv (1960-1), 6 ff. (esp. p. 25, where he says almost all the parallels between the Scrolls and the Fourth Gospel could have been suggested by the Septuagint). On the attitude to the Temple in the Fourth Gospel and the Scrolls, cf. O. Cullmann, *N.T.S.* v (1958-9), 157 ff. On the influence of the Qumran sect in the Gospel of Matthew, cf. K. Stendahl, *The School of St. Matthew*, 1954; S. E. Johnson, *Z.A.W.* lxvi (1954), 115 ff.; B. Gärtner, *S.Th.* viii (1955), 1 ff.; S. Lassalle, *Bulletin du Cercle Ernest Renan*, No. 71, April 1960, pp. 1 ff. Cf. also W. D. Davies (*H.T.R.* xlvi (1953), 113 ff.) on Matt. xi. 25-30 and the Scrolls. On the Scrolls and the Gospel of Luke, cf. W. Grossouw, *Studia Catholica*, xxvii (1952), 5 ff. On the Scrolls and Acts cf. S. E. Johnson, *Z.A.W.* lxvi (1954), 106 ff. On the Scrolls and the Gospel of Matthew and the Epistle of James, cf. Leane, op. cit. pp. 91 ff., and on the links with the Gospel of Luke and Acts, ibid. 109 ff. On the general question of Qumran exegesis and New Testament exegesis of the Old Testament, cf. G. Vermès, *Cahiers Sioniens*, v (1951), 337 ff.; cf. also F. F. Bruce, *Biblical Exegesis in the Qumran Texts*, 1960, and J. van der Ploeg, *Bijbelverklaring te Qumrân*, 1960.

³ Cf. W. D. Davies, *S.N.T.*, pp. 157 ff., where the author argues that "the Scrolls and the Pauline Epistles share these terms [i.e. flesh and spirit], but it is not their sectarian connotation that is determinative of Pauline usage" (p. 182). On flesh and spirit, cf. further D. Flusser, *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Scripta Hierosolymitana, IV), 1958, pp. 252 ff. Cf. also W. Grossouw, *Studia Catholica*,

or the links to be found in the Epistle to the Hebrews.¹ Professor F. C. Grant declares that the contacts and parallels between the New Testament and the Scrolls are comparatively insignificant when set against the innumerable contacts and parallels between the New Testament and other literature of the Hellenistic age.² This does not mean that the parallels with the Scrolls are to be ignored or depreciated. Quite the reverse. Christ is not to be exalted by the depreciation of others, and it is as wrong to use the Scrolls simply as a foil for the teaching of the New Testament as it is to use them simply as a quarry for passages to attack the originality of the New Testament. We may gladly recognize all that is fine and good in the thought of the Qumran sectaries, with their deep religious interest and the purity of their lives. Their devotion to the Old Testament and their austere life of obedience to the will of God as they understood it is worthy of all admiration. The Scrolls are therefore to be recognized as of importance for the understanding of the background of Christianity and for the light they shed on currents of Judaism in the period in which Christianity came into being.³ It should be clear that they do not justify the extreme statement of the French writer which was quoted at the beginning of this lecture,⁴ and

xxvii (1952), 1 ff.; S. E. Johnson, *H.T.R.* xlviii (1955), 157 ff.; J. Daniélou, op. cit. pp. 94 ff.; K. Schubert, *The Dead Sea Community*, pp. 155 ff.; A. R. C. Leaney, op. cit. pp. 104 ff.; R. E. Murphy, *Sacra Pagina*, ii (1959), 60 ff.; and W. Grundmann, *R.Q.* ii (1960), 237 ff.

¹ Cf. Y. Yadin, *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Scripta Hierosolymitana, IV), 1958, pp. 36 ff. Cf. also J. Daniélou, op. cit. pp. 106 ff.; C. Spicq, *R.Q.* i (1958-9), 365 ff.

² Cf. *Ancient Judaism and the New Testament*, p. 20; cf. also p. 21: "the few and superficial resemblances between the New Testament and the Dead Sea Scrolls do not prove the dependence of Christianity upon the Essenes". See also F. C. Grant, *The Gospels: their Origin and Growth*, 1957, p. 75.

³ Cf. L. Cerfaux, *La Secte de Qumrân* (Recherches Bibliques, IV), 1959, pp. 238 f.: "Les documents de la Mer Morte nous rendront d'immenses services . . . Nous aidant à préciser le vocabulaire chrétien, ils exerceront une influence bienfaisante sur notre exégèse". Cf. also J. D. Barthélemy, *Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie*, vi (1959), 249 ff.

⁴ The views of some Russian authors, recorded by Amusin (op. cit. pp. 234 ff.) but not otherwise available to the present writer, may be noted. R. Y. Vipper (*Rome and Christianity*, 1954) thinks the Essenes were the precursors of Christianity, and the Essenes and the Christians were but as grandparents and grand-

anyone who reads the Fourth Gospel, or indeed any part of the New Testament, and who then reads the Scrolls in any of the translations that have been published, will be quickly aware that there is a world of difference between them.¹ One of the translators, Professor T. H. Gaster, has said with the fullest justification that in the Scrolls "there is no trace of any of the cardinal theological concepts . . . which make Christianity a distinctive faith."² They do not offer the single and sufficient explanation of Christian origins. They do bring their contribution to the understanding of the soil in which Christianity was planted.³ Scholars have long recognized that Judaism was not a decadent and moribund faith in the time of Jesus, and that Pharisaism is not truly reflected in the New Testament. There we see Pharisaism at its worst, and as it is sometimes condemned in

children. A. P. Kazhdan (*Religion and Atheism in the Ancient World*, 1957) is more cautious, and says we cannot derive Christianity from Essenism, but thinks the latter exerted a considerable influence on the formation of Christianity and on the growth of the Christian myth, while S. I. Kovalev (in the *Annual of the Museum of the History of Religion and Atheism*, 1958) is yet more cautious, and says we have no reason to regard the Essenes as direct precursors of Christianity either in matters of ideology or organization. Y. A. Lenzman (*The Rise of Christianity*, 1958) says the *Manual of Discipline* has nothing in common with early Christianity, but thinks the figure of the Teacher of Righteousness provided the most important element of the legend of Jesus. K. B. Starkova (in the Preface to her translation of the *Manual of Discipline*, 1959) says that in the light of the Qumran texts we can understand more clearly the birth of Christianity and the rise of Christian literature.

¹ O. Cullmann (*S.N.T.*, pp. 31 f.) says: "Is it not significant that Josephus and Philo can both describe the Essenes in detail without once mentioning the Teacher of Righteousness? . . . Would it be possible to describe primitive Christianity without naming Christ? To ask the question is to have answered it." Cf. also K. Schubert, *The Dead Sea Community*, p. 144: "the milieu of Jesus and the milieu of the Qumrân texts do belong in the same broad framework of the messianic movement, but Jesus himself clearly dissociated himself in many things from his Qumrân Essene predecessors and contemporaries."

² *The Scriptures of the Dead Sea Sect*, p. 22.

³ Cf. K. G. Kuhn, *S.N.T.*, p. 87: "The abiding significance of the Qumran texts for the New Testament is that they show to what extent the primitive church, however conscious of its integrity and newness, drew upon the Essenes in matters of practices and cult, organization and constitution." It may be added that the study of the limit of such borrowing is no less important than the study of its extent. Cf. W. Eiss, *Qumran und die Anfänge der christlichen Gemeinde*, 1959, p. 22.

Jewish sources.¹ But Pharisaism at its best was deeply religious, and the Christian debt to it is one which should never be forgotten. Now through the Scrolls we have knowledge of another contemporary group, which in its different way preserved amongst the Jews a deep religious devotion, and helped to create the climate in which the Christian faith could be born. In many ways God prepared for the coming of his Son.

¹ Cf. J. Klausner, *Jesus of Nazareth*, Eng. Trans. by H. Danby, 1925, pp. 213 ff., 227, 321.

THE POET PERSIUS, LITERARY AND SOCIAL CRITIC¹

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THE Roman poet Aulus Persius Flaccus, who is the subject of this paper, was born in A.D. 34 towards the end of the reign of Tiberius and (if one may relate his chronology to better known events) about four years after the crucifixion of Jesus Christ. He lived through the reigns of Caligula (A.D. 37-41) and Claudius (A.D. 41-54) and into the reign of Nero. He was barely ten years old when the great invasion of Britain was organized under Claudius and was set in motion. He died young at the age of twenty-eight in A.D. 62, one year after the rebellion of Boadicea in Britain, and actually in the year when the Emperor Nero at the death of Burrus finally broke away from the guidance and restraint of Seneca, the philosopher-statesman, the other of the two counsellors who had ruled the Empire so temperately during the first half of his reign.

Persius was born at Volaterrae in Etruria some 150 miles north of Rome. His father, a wealthy Roman knight, died when Persius was a child, but his circumstances were always easy: he had a good home and was brought up in a family where virtue was honoured and where the lives and conduct of his people were blameless in an age of much moral degeneracy. He was privately educated up to the age of twelve, and was then taken to Rome for the normal courses of Roman education in literature and rhetoric. At the age of sixteen when he officially reached manhood and assumed the *toga virilis*, and, being his own master, inherited personal control of the patrimony his father had left him—at this point there took place what he affirms to have been the greatest event in his life: for he then proceeded to the highest stage of Roman education, the study of philosophy, and came

¹ A lecture delivered in the Library series of public lectures.

under the tutorship and guidance of the eminent Stoic philosopher and teacher, Annaeus Cornutus, who inspired in him a profound admiration and affection, and from whom as a kind of spiritual director he learnt an ethical ideal and a standard of values which he acknowledges to have been the most potent and formative influence in his being. Both in the ancient world, and in the Middle Ages, and indeed among the few who read Persius in the modern world, this short-lived young man has always been admired for the sincerity and frankness of the character that shines out in his pages: in the age of Nero he was almost unique among notable personages for his genuine goodness and for the inoffensive saintliness of his life. He had devoted himself to secluded study in his quest for the attainment of philosophic wisdom: he did not mix much with the world: he took no part in such political and forensic activity as was possible under Claudius or Nero: he makes not a single overt reference to any statesman or event in the state: he presents no changing, kaleidoscopic picture of Roman society and Roman manners such as we see so vividly in the poems of Martial and Juvenal: for he was primarily a student, a man of letters, an aspirant in philosophy striving to perfect himself in virtue as taught and required by his Stoic creed; and so, apart from books and authors, apart from students like himself, apart from the human types personifying virtues and vices in philosophical discussions, Persius can have had little immediate experience of the world that Juvenal knew, *quidquid agunt homines, votum, timor, ira, voluptas, gaudia, discursus*: it is curious therefore that this bookish and gentle-mannered student, this recluse in his philosophic detachment, should have tried his hand at satire, the very life-blood of which is a direct observation and critical knowledge of humanity as it moves and acts in the real world. The satires of Persius will inevitably be different from those of Horace or Juvenal. He will criticize contemporary literature, and here he is well within his province: he will give us his philosophic reflections on problems of conduct, and here again the subject is well within his competence: but we must not expect from him any harsh detailed denunciation such as Juvenal vents upon the sins and sinners that have provoked his anger. So I must warn

you that Persius is a serious young man, not censorious, but with a bent for sermonizing, who hopes to persuade his readers that, by paying heed to his message, they can mend their writing or their character or both, and so perhaps increase their happiness also. In the modern world his moral fervour would make him an impressive preacher with a reformist message.

His actual amount of writing was small. We hear of two works which have not survived, a historical drama of Roman subject, and a book of poems describing travels. At his death these had passed to Cornutus, and were suppressed as of small value. The satires, introduced by a short poem of fourteen iambic scazon lines, number six in all—a small volume of no more than 650 hexameter verses, less than a single book of Virgil's *Aeneid*, and about the length of Juvenal's VIth satire. Persius was a slow and occasional composer. He reflected much on what he wrote, giving the same care and thought to how he should express himself as to what he had to express, and modelling his wording and turn of phrase on the precedent set by older authors and especially on the diction of Horace in the *Sermones*—with the result that many passages in Persius cannot be explained until one has found the original Horatian expression which our poet has thought it clever to enigmatize in some startling innovation of words. He thus becomes, for all his smallness of output, one of the most intricately obscure poets in Latin, and in reading his 650 lines one can spend a quite undue amount of time trying to discern the meaning of individual lines and in seeking to puzzle out the connection of thought between paragraph and paragraph. I have no hesitation in admitting that to me he is the most difficult author in Classical Latin.

The first satire ranks with the fifth as his best: in it Persius becomes a literary critic and attacks what he regards as the absurdities of contemporary men-of-letters in their style of composition, their subject-matter, their desire for applause, and their readiness to accept as valid the verdict of a degenerate and corrupt public taste. I shall be saying more about this later in my paper. Satire II is on a theme which we know better from the famous Tenth Satire of Juvenal and Dr. Samuel Johnson's paraphrase of it in his poem "The Vanity of Human Wishes"—

what should men pray for, what are the right petitions to offer, can we have any comprehension of the nature of the deity to whom we pray, how far from a true understanding of the divine nature are most men who pray in the temples when they approach their god with prayers which they would not dare to utter aloud for fear lest their fellow-men should perceive the vileness of their hearts, and their inner wickedness be revealed to the public. His conclusion is that the most acceptable sacrifice one can bring to the gods is purity of heart, duty justly done, and a generous magnanimity in all one's actions:

*compositum ius fasque animo sanctosque recessus
mentis et incoctum generoso pectus honesto.*

Satire III is a longer and more elaborate poem: it deals with the besetting sin of students and literary men—sloth, procrastination, the creeping paralysis of will which smothers and atrophies the natural inborn vigour and which at the most critically formative time of a young man's life could kill in him all ambition, all effort towards virtue, all disciplined self-control, all advance towards excellence: for it is in youth, says Persius, that we choose the way of virtue or the way of vice, and self-indulgent sloth of mind is the most certain symptom of deadly moral disease. I need not enlarge on this Satire now, for I shall be reverting to it later in my lecture. The fourth Satire is a kind of continuation of the same theme with a particular application—a young man, an Alcibiades, feeling within him the urge of his power and talents, wishes to enter public life and administer state affairs. What are his qualifications? How is he equipped? Apart from his natural gifts of wit, diplomacy and power of speech, what policy has he, what are his purpose and intention in choosing the profession of statesman—the mere selfish enjoyment of exercising his powers, of being a spell-binder and receiving the adulation of the crowd, or is he moved by some higher and nobler ideal of statecraft such as might be learnt from philosophy? And the poet passes on to a general survey of mankind in which he shows that this young statesman's self-admiration is not unique, for very few are as aware of their own faults as they are of their neighbours', that this is the way

of the world, and that the flattering tributes offered by the ignorant mob are worthless as evidence of our character if all the while sin lurks in our conscience. "You should live at home with yourself", says Persius, "and get to know how sparsely furnished your apartments are—*tecum habita : noris quam sit tibi curta supellex*." The fifth poem is addressed to his tutor and teacher, Cornutus. It is a moving tribute to the noble-minded philosopher, who has guided his youthful footsteps in the path of righteousness, and who as his guide and friend has imparted to him the knowledge of how life is to be worthily and virtuously lived. For Cornutus has realized the true way of life—that the rule of discipline and temperance taught by Stoicism can alone lead to achievement and to the assurance that one's life has not been squandered in purposeless frivolity. This discipline is not the denial of liberty, for true liberty is not just the Roman's civil liberty which any emancipated slave can possess: true liberty is something of the spirit and can only be won by applying the heart to wisdom, so that the man is freed from the sins that tyrannize over the soul—from avarice, pleasure, sloth and the other passions such as ambition, superstition, and lust. *Hic, hic, quod quaerimus, hic est*; "here, here, we find the freedom that we sought," is Persius' conclusion of the whole matter. The sixth and last satire is dedicated to the lyric poet Caesius Bassus, the senior friend who, after Persius' death, was deputed by Cornutus to edit and publish the satires posthumously. The scene of the poem is set in winter-time; Persius, as he writes, is wintering in the warm climate of Luna, one of the sea-ports of Etruria; and in the contentment of his quiet seclusion he enjoys his separation from public opinion and public clamour, his freedom from anxiety about the weather, and his indifference to the growing wealth of his neighbours. He has no desire to be *excessively* rich: on the other hand, he has no wish to become poor as a means to virtue: as it is, he has no need to practice miserly economy: he is glad to have an adequate sufficiency, and he means to enjoy it and to use it prudently—but as he pleases. And here let no heir with an eye to the future intervene to express displeasure about the capital shrinkage. "The estate is mine," says Persius, "all mine, capital and interest alike, and within

reasonable limits proper to a man of sense, I will use it as I please : I will not be instructed as to how I employ it. If my natural heir objects to this policy, I will choose another heir. Why should he wish to inherit before his time? This is just avarice on his part ; and if I give in to it, I shall never have content or enjoyment : he will attempt to supervise every item of my spending, and I should find that intolerable. 'What I *leave* will be yours', he says to his heir 'but only what I *leave*, not what I *inherited* or *now possess*. So you do not help yourself by being selfish and grasping. You only provoke me to go on a spending spree.' "

I have thought it helpful to give this rapid resumé of the six satires, so that you might have some preliminary idea of the serious line which this young poet takes in his public criticisms. Though in each poem the topics he treats are different, they all have in common a certain moral theme—an insistence on the need for a rigorous discipline of the mind and will, so that a man's life may be directed towards wisdom and goodness whether in literature, statecraft, academic study, or the use and enjoyment of wealth ; and he proclaims the doctrine that freedom of the spirit, manifesting itself in control of the passions, is the only genuine liberty. Persius may not be a great literary artist: but even in this sketchy survey there emerges, I believe, something of the fervour and conviction with which he preaches the redemptive and fortifying principles of Stoicism. So much for the general impression of the man and his message : let us now look in more detail at one or two of the more important satires.

It was a question often considered in the ancient world if there is any connection between the morals of a given epoch and the literary style of that epoch, either in the national sphere or in the case of the individual. Can it be argued from stated instances that a decline in the standards of public morality is shown equally in the literary degeneracy of the period, or, conversely, that literary decadence is a symptom of a greater moral disease which is prevalent in the people at large? The question is not without relevance to our own materialistic age when wealth is so widespread and when all the luxurious concomitants of wealth are so easily obtainable : do our own publications, our newspapers, our

art, our drama, our films, our entertainments, our dances, reflect a less austere, a more indulgent way of life, or are they separate phenomena, unaffected by the general condition of the nation? Be that as it may, it was felt by thoughtful men of the first century, and certainly by a puritan like Persius, that the general luxury of the age (and the Romans of the first century A.D., like ourselves in the twentieth century, had never had it so good) is at least one of the main reasons for the decline in the quality of literature from the high level of the Augustan age; and that the decay of the arts is closely connected with the corruption and decay of the Roman character: as Seneca put it in one of his Letters to Lucilius, *genus dicendi aliquando imitatur publicos mores, si disciplina civitatis laboravit et se in delicias dedit*: "the style of literature sometimes follows in the suite of public morality, when the moral atmosphere, the temper of the nation, changes, and gives itself over to luxury." It is this change in literature, originating in the common luxury of the age, that Persius regrets in his First Satire, and he attacks both the affected tone of literary composition and the popular response to it and approval of it; in fact, he finds the whole atmosphere at Rome vitiated and stupidly self-complacent, and he feels that he must cry aloud his opinion of contemporary Roman standards of taste and judgment. The cure is, of course, to be found in a moral reform, which can only come from outspoken criticism (like that of the Old Greek Comedy) leading to the acceptance of a rule of conduct such as Stoicism offers—if only this message could be got across to men in Rome, past the indifference of the bourgeois or contempt of the philistines. This is the tone in which the First Satire opens: it is ostensibly a criticism of contemporary poetry, but to Persius these debased literary standards are symptomatic of a deeper and more general malady which can only be remedied by a return (a return calling for hard study and application) to *severiora iudicia*, to more austere criteria of judgement and conduct.

The poem starts with a dialogue between Persius and a friend, the interlocutor who is a regular feature of Roman satire generally and of Persius' satire in particular. Persius at first assumes a pensive air, and speaks with a tone of brooding concern about

the vanity and meaninglessness of human existence : and the friend expostulates as might be expected from an experienced man of the world :

PERSIUS: Alas for man! how vain are all his cares!

And oh! what bubbles his most grave affairs!

FRIEND: Whom do you expect to read stuff like this?

PERSIUS: Why, what a silly question! No one, I assure you.

FRIEND: What, no one?

PERSIUS: Well, one or two at most.

FRIEND: Your work is a lamentable fiasco, then.

PERSIUS: Why a fiasco? is it because you fear that everyone at Rome, prince and people alike, will be preferring their own dear Labeo as a poet to me? Nonsense! If this muddle-headed Rome should decry and undervalue a poem, it's not for you to be walking up and adjusting the faulty indicator in that lying balance of hers. You must trust your own judgement of the work, not the popular opinion. For everyone at Rome is . . . may I say what? But surely I may, when I look at the elderly exterior of us Romans, and our national gravity of demeanour, and the kind of things we've been doing since childhood, all with an air of avuncular wisdom—at such a moment you must excuse me: it's involuntary, I really can't help it—but I have a spleen that's uncontrollable, and I burst out laughing.

And now the laughing, mocking attack on contemporary poetry begins. First we have an amusing description of a modern versifier who with intense labour has produced a poem which he publishes by reading to an audience of friends at one of the recitation parties which were then the popular rage. He had shut himself up in his study to hatch this *magnum opus*, “this something in the grand style to be panted forth by the lungs with a vast expenditure of breath”. The poem is then recited in public by the author, who is combed and brushed and got up all in white with a new toga, and wearing his birthday ring to mark the special importance of the occasion :

‘Tis done! and now the bard, elate and proud,
Prepares a grand rehearsal for the crowd,
The desk he mounts, in birth-day splendour bright,
Combed and perfumed, and robed in dazzling white;
His pliant throat with soft emollients clears,
And casts around ingratiating leers¹.

And what of the audience? As the sensuous sound and rhythm of the verse begin to affect them, these brawny sons of Rome cannot keep still in their seats. They rock and roll and

¹ The verse renderings are from Dryden or Gifford, slightly modified.

sway in ecstatic throes of pleasure as the music and movement of the poem thrill their inmost being.

There follows an argument between the critic and the author, Persius blaming the poet for thus prostituting his art, the poet replying that in no other way can he obtain recognition for the study and work he has expended on his subject—"as if," adds Persius contemptuously, "the only reward for knowledge is to have *others* know that *you* know." "But," says the poet, "think of the fame one acquires by writing a poem and giving a reading of it—to be a public figure, to be a classic in the schools, to be a hit with the young of the aristocracy!" "Fame indeed" answers Persius, "listen and I'll tell you how I see it. Picture the scene: there sit the aristocrats, noble sons of Rome, in the process of digesting a full meal: and as they drink their wine, they seek relaxation and ask what divine poesy has to say for herself today. Hereupon a professional elocutionist comes forward to give a recital from one of the poets: he wears a hyacinth-coloured mantle round his shoulders; he speaks with an utterance between a lisp and a snuffle: he has selected some mawkish trash, some elegiac woe, something about Phyllises or Hypsipyles, and it comes trickling from his lips, every word of it tripping against the roof of his delicate mouth. The patrons, the great men, are charmed, and signify their approval: and the humbler guests sycophantically chime in: here is your fame," says Persius, "here is your literary apotheosis":

Then graciously the mellow audience nod:
Is not the immortal author made a god?
Are not his Manes blest, such praise to have?
Lies not the turf more lightly on his grave?
And roses (while his loud applause they sing)
Stand ready from his sepulchre to spring.

"Ah," says Persius' friend, "you are mocking me: but, in spite of your sneers, there *is* something splendid in writing a poem that will survive and win fame for its author even posthumously." And now we come to the heart of Persius' criticism of literary fashions and literary standards at Rome. He is not the man, he protests, to reject any honest praise for anything good he may have written—in the rare event of his ever

writing anything good. But he utterly denies that the loud "Bravo", and the enraptured "Splendid" which one hears in literary gatherings at Rome denote any mark of quality: for these plaudits are indiscriminately bestowed on such drivel as Labeo's translation of the *Iliad* or even the sweet little love-lyric dictated by the Roman grandees after dinner. Such praise is not honest praise: it is payment for favours received or for favours expected, whereas in fact the verse praised is rubbish, and the noble versifier is often a top-level vulgarian, whose clients make game of him behind his back.

Uncritical applause and indiscriminating admiration have become so rife in Rome that, in Persius' view, they help to spread and perpetuate the very vices in literature which he wishes to see removed. In poetry smoothness and regularity of rhythm and grandiloquence of style are the effects most praised. Nobody nowadays, he says, has any interest in the old Latin poets of two hundred years ago, such as Pacuvius and Accius the tragedians, rough archaic workmen, to be sure, but strong and manly—not like the present-day Romans, who care only for the banalities of fine writing. Even in the law-courts and in criminal trials one does not expect to hear forensic oratory of the old kind: public taste is so corrupted that it requires even a defendant in peril of his life to produce tropes and antitheses and tricks of rhetoric in order to win applause: for example—

Others, by foolish ostentation led,
 When called before the bar to save their head,
 Bring trifling tropes instead of solid sense,
 And mind their diction more than their defence:
 Are pleased to hear their thick-skulled judges cry,
 "Well moved", "oh finely said and decently!"
 "Theft" says the accuser "to thy charge I lay,
 O Pedius." What does gentle Pedius say?
 Studious to please the genius of the times,
 With periods, points, and tropes he slurs his crimes:
 "He robbed not, but he *borrowed* from the poor;
 And took but with intention to restore."
 He lards with flourishes his long harangue:
 "'Tis fine," sayest thou; what, to be praised—and hang?

This claim that the moderns have given Roman poetry the qualities of polish, grace, and smoothness which it never possessed

before—this claim provokes Persius to indignant denial. Judged by the standard set by Virgil not a century before, this modern verse is frothy and fungous trash. If there remained in the present generation one spark of their fathers' manhood, this devitalized stuff that floats on the spittle of the mouth would not be tolerated.

And so Persius comes to the conclusion of his satire. He rejects the advice that he should suppress his criticism because he will give offence to the great men of Rome, what we would call the Establishment. The satirists before him, Lucilius and Horace, in their different ways of approach, did not spare men's faults, and why should he? Is it still sacrilege for him to speak out his mind about Rome as he was proposing to do in the first lines of the poem? Well, now he will speak, his book will be his confidant, he will entrust the secret to his book—*auriculos asini quis non habet?*, "the people of Rome are fools, they have asses ears." This is his joke, his buried secret. He is not writing for the *littérateurs* or reading public or philistines of Rome: he is writing for a special kind of reader—for the few who can appreciate the free speech and open caustic criticism of the Old Greek Comedy writers, Cratinus, Eupolis and Aristophanes—it is to such readers only that he addresses himself:

let *them* but smile

On this my honest work, though writ in homely style:
And if two lines or three in all the vein
Appear less drossy, read those lines again.
May they perform their author's just intent,
Glow in thine ears and in thy breast ferment.

The subject of the Third Satire, as I indicated earlier, is procrastination, tomorrow and tomorrow, and tomorrow, never to speak of the lost yesterday that was tomorrow the day before yesterday, and all the new tomorrows turning to lost yesterdays that can consume our years without any effective achievement. I fancy there are few of us, young or old, who have not at some time surrendered to the beguilement of tomorrow and postponed tiresome business in favour of the more enjoyable. For students and men-of-letters the temptation is perhaps more insidious

than, say, for the journalist who is always working to the clock and against time : we academics can deceive ourselves by a semblance of activity, but static activity : we meditate on the subject, read round it, make notes about it, card-index every item, tabulate a bibliography, and assemble all the parts for a final completion—which somehow recedes and recedes—and, unless Necessity intervenes in the form of an ‘appointed day’ (and sometimes not even then), we are no better than potterers or dilettanti with no settled plan or purpose. It is to such a student, a dilatory beginner in philosophy, that Persius addresses himself in this Third Satire, appearing in the person of the young man’s tutor and speaking words of stern reprimand.

The tutor is a Stoic philosopher : he comes to visit his pupil at eleven o’clock in the morning when the sun is high in the sky, and he is shocked to find the young man still heavily asleep, snoring off the fumes of the Falernian he drank at the party of the previous evening. The tutor says some brisk words about slackness and inattention to study : the pupil gradually bestirs himself :

The yawning youth, scarce half awake, essays
His lazy limbs and drowsy head to raise:
Then rubs his gummy eyes and scrubs his pate,
And cries, “ I thought it had not been so late:
My clothes! Make hastel!” Why then, if none be near,
He mutters first, and then begins to swear:
And brays aloud, with a more clamorous note
Than an Arcadian ass can stretch its throat.

This is a vivid piece of writing ; and, though Dryden to some extent fills out and expands the original, yet he gives us the authentic tone and meaning of Persius.

Next we see the reluctant student preparing to tackle his work : all the apparatus of study is before him—the book, the parchment, the paper for notes, the pen, the ink, and he is about to start. But the ink is thick and viscous : it forms a blob on the pen. Well, pour in some water : now he complains that the watery ink flows twice as fast and floods the pen! How can he work with such impossible pen and ink! The tutor loses patience and gives him a dressing down. “ All these excuses and evasions ”, he cries, “ they don’t impose on me. You are

the person who will suffer for this foolery. You are frittering away your precious time—just at the age, too, when like moist clay, you should be taken in hand by the potter and moulded on the philosophic wheel to some good and useful purpose. And don't tell me, young man, that you are someone, a squire with a landed estate, a noble with an ancestry running back into generations of Tuscan forebears, an equestrian by rank and entitled to wear purple when annually reviewed by the censor. These external trappings may impress the mob, but I know the inner man : *ad populum phaleras, ego te intus et in cute novi* : and that inner man, if he doesn't reform, is in danger of becoming a castaway, like the reprobate Natta whose conscience is so seared that he is dead to the distinction between virtue and vice." "Oh", says Persius in a passage of impressive solemnity, "the horror of such a life in death. No torture ever invented by tyrants for the punishment of their victims is comparable with Heaven's punishment meted out to great sinners, *virtutem videant intabescantque relictæ* : for there is no more appalling fate than for the sinner to realize that he is past repentance, that he is slipping over into the abyss, and that he is haunted by a ghastly inward fear which even the wife of his bosom cannot know."

I have not time in this lecture to follow Persius through the rest of the tutor's exhortation : it is all well worth reading, for it is urged with much force and variety of argument. I would like, however, to add one thought which always occurs to me as I read this Satire. Does it not seem almost inevitable that the poet as he wrote this exhortation, had in mind the tutor-pupil relationship between Seneca and the young Nero? It is said in the Life of Persius, ascribed to Valerius Probus, that Persius in the original form of line 121 of Satire I had allusively attacked Nero in the words *auriculas asini Mida rex habet* but that Cornutus as literary executor had altered the passage to the now generally accepted reading and so had removed the sting and danger of offence. The eminent scholar, Isaac Casaubon, who published his edition of Persius in 1605, accepted this statement from the Life and maintained that Persius in this passage *suum ostendit iudicium de Neronis poesi et omnium qui eius exemplum*

sequebantur, sed animi sui mentem allegoria pulcherrima extulit. And this opinion that Nero is referred to, he reinforces by working out in detail and at length an interpretation of Satire IV which presents that poem as an attack on Nero's lack of statesmanship under the guise of a criticism of the young Alcibiades. In the modern world Casaubon's opinion has been discountenanced. Personally, I am inclined to accept his view, all the more so when I consider the setting of Satire III, a Stoic tutor remonstrating with a half-hearted pupil and warning him against the danger in his zest for pleasure and inattention to duty. Here I cannot help feeling that the parallel with the young Emperor and his Stoic tutor Seneca is too exact to have been accidental. True, there is no direct reference to Nero, any more than there is any direct reference to Augustus in Virgil's portrayal of Aeneas : but is it fanciful to suggest that here in Satire III the parallel with Nero is implicit, tactfully and inoffensively implicit, and would not have been missed by serious Roman readers, any more than similar critical references to Nero which were thought to have been allusively inserted by Lucan in his *Pharsalia*? I throw out this reflection in passing, hoping that the problem might be re-examined with perhaps more respect for the strong conviction of a rational scholar like Casaubon.

In the Fifth Satire, the last I shall mention and undeniably the most seriously impressive of the collection, the poet pays a tribute to his old tutor, L. Annaeus Cornutus ; and this tribute has conferred a certain immortality on Cornutus, about whom very little would otherwise be known. He had come to Rome from Leptis in Libya, probably as a slave but a talented and highly educated slave ; from the name Annaeus that he carried, it seems probable that he was attached to the family of the Annaei (to which Seneca belonged) and that he had been emancipated by them. We know that he was a man of much learning and of great reputation, both as a philosopher with a special interest in Aristotle, as a writer on philosophical topics, and as a grammarian and teacher. His works have all perished except for quotations and fragments embedded in later writers. He would have remained no more than a shadowy name like so many in Roman literary history, if it had not been for the deep sense of

gratitude and affection which prompted his young pupil to write this appreciation. Here in the poem he lives again, not merely as an academic figure, but as a man of strong character and personality, who believed that it was his duty, as a teacher, to enlighten and quicken the understanding of his young pupil, but (more important still) to lay before him and persuade him to accept, a code of conduct, an ethical standard, by which he might regulate his life and govern his actions, and become a wise and good man both in his private capacity and publicly as a citizen. He did not teach by flattery or compromise: he saw clearly what was necessary: *Non multa peccas*, (Cicero quotes the old tutor Phoenix as saying to Achilles), *sed peccas; te regere possum*; and that was the educational principle on which Cornutus appears to have shaped the moral development of Persius. We do not often hear in the Roman world of pupils' gratitude to their teachers. Persius is one of the notable exceptions, and it is greatly to his honour.

The poem opens with an exchange between Persius and Cornutus, Persius beginning far away from his intended theme and offering no immediate clue to his subject, Cornutus taking him up sharply for what appears to be a piece of insufferable bombast. Persius remarks that it is the fashion of poets to call for a hundred voices and a hundred tongues to utter their lays: "it is a standing rule with poets to put in a requisition for a hundred voices, to bespeak a hundred mouths and a hundred tongues for the purposes of song, whether the work be a drama to be mouthed on the stage by some sorry tragedian, or an epic showing the wounded Parthian drawing the Roman spear from his thigh."

CORNUTUS: Heavens! to what purpose, (sure, I heard thee wrong,
Tend these huge gobbets of robustious song,
Which, struggling into day, distend thy lungs,
And need a hundred mouths, a hundred tongues?

He could understand the need for this kind of rant if Persius was a modern tragic poet writing insipid dramas about Procne or Thyestes, panting like a blacksmith's bellows, or "croaking the grave nothings of an idle brain". But he is sure that writing in this grandiose tone is quite unnatural for a satiric poet. His

job is to criticize mankind : and his style must be the plain language of everyday life—*verba togae* ; he is not called on to present stage-horrors, but to show common society and ordinary men as they are. In reply Persius fully accepts this, and at once discloses the real reason for having wished for a hundred tongues—his sincere love for Cornutus is immeasurably beyond the power of one voice to express :

'Tis not, indeed, my purpose to engage
In lofty trifles or to swell my page
With wind and noise; but freely to impart,
As to a friend, the secrets of my heart;
And in familiar speech to let thee know
How much I love thee and how much I owe.
For this a hundred voices I desire,
To tell thee what a hundred tongues would tire
Yet never could be worthily expressed—
How deeply thou art seated in my breast.

It was Cornutus who, like a second father, had taken Persius under his care and guided his wavering footsteps : “ just at the time when the way of life for a young man begins to be uncertain, and the bewildered mind finds that its ramblings have brought it to the branching cross-ways—then it was that I placed myself under your care, and submitted my character to your guidance to have its moral twists straightened out and to assume a new shape.” Persius recalls the happy days he spent in Cornutus’ school, mornings of hard study compensated by evenings of genial social relaxation : and such is their friendship and unanimity that Persius is convinced they were born under the same beneficent star :

Sure on our birth some friendly planet shone
And, as our souls, our horoscope was one:
What star I know not, but some star I find,
Has given thee an Ascendant o’er my mind.

This is by no means the whole of the poem : but I think it is enough to show you the quality and temper of this generous young man.

Well, how shall I sum up Persius? I do not think he can be called one of the great poets of Rome, and he certainly is not a

satirist to be compared with Horace or Juvenal. He has none of the subtle penetrating humour of Horace, that laughs its way into your consciousness, and makes you smile at your own ridiculous appearance. He has none of the burning anger of Juvenal that shrivels and blasts like the jet from a flame-gun. He has nothing, either, of the torrential rhetorical inventiveness of his younger contemporary, the epic poet Lucan. As a poet, Persius is a slow, careful, scrupulous workman: his literary effects are all considered, all studied: his style is *oratio meditata et composita*: one finds in him nothing spontaneous except perhaps once only—when the warmth of affection he feels for Cornutus liberates his spirit and his utterance. But he is a young man: he is writing his satires at an age when our young men would be finishing an M.A. thesis or beginning a Ph.D. course: he is still something of an apprentice in poetry, and he is trying to write well—I think he has not yet passed the stage of trying to write better than he could, and that accounts for the impression we get of crabbedness and obscurity. Yet as a literary artist he has his points: he is a purist in language: it is his aim that whatever he writes should be genuinely Roman, not foreign naturalized—*ut oratio Romana plane videatur, non civitate donata*, as Quintilian excellently puts it. He is entirely free from slickness: he detests the smooth mobility of contemporary literature: he has no desire to placate the public and become a popular figure, but like Horace he regards himself as *nobilium scriptorum auditor et ultor*, “the disciple and the champion of the great writers”; and so he feels himself bound to maintain the ancient character of Roman poetry with all its natural gravity, as compared with the modern refinements of language and versification which he dislikes and rejects as un-Roman. His literary criticism, therefore, he intends to be a sober corrective to these bad tendencies, but he directs his message not only against bad writing, but against what he believes to be the more serious trouble, both in persons and in the nation—bad standards of judgement and conduct. In the world around him there is far too much luxury, far too much sumptuous living. He would like to see a return to a reasoned asceticism which he believes to be in the Roman tradition. The nation has sadly declined from

its old characteristics of sturdy austerity and puritanism which seemed to be so much in accord with Stoic doctrine. He therefore constantly preaches the need for a regeneration through Stoicism, through hard-won knowledge and self-discipline leading to the supreme good—virtue. This is at the heart of his literary and social criticism. He is a satirist only to be a reformer—and it is here that the noble fervour and goodness of his spirit shine out.

THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY DANTE COLLECTION¹

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THE first exhibition of Dante's works to be held in the John Rylands Library was in the year 1909. In his preface to the catalogue the late Dr. Guppy wrote of the Library as then possessing five manuscripts and nearly 6,000 printed volumes and pamphlets relating to Dante, noting that the nucleus of this collection, including the rarest and most important of the early editions, had formed part of the Althorp Library bought by Mrs. Rylands from Earl Spencer in 1892, that this had been added to from time to time and that there was a considerable amount of modern literature on the subject. The number of manuscripts has now risen to seven; and in the half century since the exhibition there will have been added—at a conservative estimate—another 500 printed items, bringing the total probably to 6,500. It is common knowledge that the Library has a large and interesting Dante collection; but the extent of its wealth and its composition is known only to the comparatively few Dante scholars who, having the good fortune to be in Manchester, have the pleasure and privilege of consulting it. In the hope of making the collection more widely known, this survey attempts to give some idea of its treasures and at the same time, to indicate,—if inadequately, owing to the vast amount of material involved,—wherein lies its value and interest to the student of Dante.

The material is considered in two main sections: I: Texts, manuscript and printed, of the *Divina Commedia*; Minor Works,

¹ I should like to thank the John Rylands staff for dealing so promptly and patiently with my numerous requests. I am particularly indebted to Mr. Ronald Hall, Keeper of Printed Books, and Dr. Frank Taylor, Keeper of Manuscripts, for their help and advice, and especially to Mr. Hall for information regarding the editions of the *Divina Commedia*, and for his listing of these, which shortened my work very considerably.

with translations and bibliography ; II : Dante Studies : Bibliography, handbooks, periodicals ; Biography ; the *Commedia* ; Particular Topics.

I

Texts of the Divina Commedia

There are seven manuscripts relating to Dante. Information regarding them is given in the Hand-list published in 1930 ;¹ since then there have been no new Dante acquisitions.

The earliest in date, Italian MS. 1, vellum, is "a precious codex of the *canzonieri* of Dante and Petrarch, written in the second half of the XIVth century".² It contains sonnets and *canzoni* by Petrarch and two *sestine* and thirteen *canzoni* by Dante. Of Dante, two *canzoni*, "E m'incresce di me si malamente" and "La dispietata mente che pur mira . . ." are of the *Vita Nuova* period but not included by Dante in that work ; two *canzoni* and the two *sestine* belong to the *Pietra* group ; and the remainder are philosophical in content and include the three *canzoni* from the *Convivio*. There are three beautifully illuminated borders. On two are portraits of Petrarch and on the third a portrait of Dante ; both are accompanied by their ladies. Two folios bear the arms of the Florentine family of the Strozzi, for the manuscript was written by a certain Paolo at the request of Lorenzo, son of Carlo degli Strozzi (d. 1383). While in the possession of Oswald Weigel of Leipzig, from 1848-1959, it was consulted by the German Dante scholar Carl Witte, who had permission to use it for his *Nuove correzioni al convito di Dante Alighieri proposte da Carlo Witte* (Leipzig, 1854),³ where it is mentioned and acknowledged. It was acquired by the Library in 1901 with manuscripts from the Bibliotheca Lindesiana of the Earls of Crawford.

There are two manuscripts of the *Divina Commedia* written in the fifteenth century. One, Italian MS. 2, paper, undated, also

¹ M. Tyson, *Hand-list of the Collections of French and Italian manuscripts in the John Rylands Library* (1930), pp. 6-7, 37-8, 54-6, 58, from which much of this information is taken.

² Op. cit. p. 6.

³ Op. cit. p. 8.

comes from the Bibliotheca Lindesiana. Written in double columns, it has for each *cantica* an incipit giving a brief indication of the theme and an explicit. Preceding each incipit is a poem in *terza rima* dealing with the subject matter of Dante's poem and freely using lines taken therefrom. After the last explicit follows Dante's *Professione di fede*, that is, the paraphrase in *terza rima* of the *Credo*, Decalogue, Seven Deadly Sins, the Paternoster and Ave Maria ; it concludes with a religious poem in octaves. This manuscript once belonged to Seymour Kirkup, an English painter and collector of fine books and manuscripts who lived in Florence for many years, and who is particularly remembered for having discovered Giotto's portrait in the Bargello fresco in the year 1840. His painted copy of the fresco is now the only record remaining of what it once was like, for the original has since been much altered by being painted over and restored.

The other fifteenth century manuscript, Italian MS. 49, written on paper, has the distinction of being one of the few Dante manuscripts that are dated. Written by a certain Bartholomew Landi de Landis of Prato, a notary, it gives the date of completion as 29 June 1416. There are other items in the same hand, including the Latin poem, by Benvenuto da Imola, the fourteenth century commentator, in praise of Dante ; the spurious Dante *canzone* in praise of Florence, beginning : " Patria degna di triumphal fama . . ." ; and a new translation of Cicero's *De senectute* which repeats Bartholomew's name and gives the date when he finished this version as 23 December 1426. This manuscript was studied by the late Dr. A. Cossio,¹ who, after pointing out that it was unknown to Dante scholars and even to the general Dante Exhibition of 1865, noted that several rubrics show a good understanding of the artistic value of Dante in the copyist ; but the numerous marginal glosses, in Latin for the *Inferno* and *Purgatorio* and in Italian for the *Paradiso*, are

¹ " The Landi Dante Codex at Manchester ", *The Antiquary*, June 1910, n.s., VI, 209-13. Dr. Cossio lived for many years in Manchester and was a founder-member of the Manchester Dante Society in 1906. He was the author of *Sulla Vita Nuova di Dante*, 1907 ; *Teoria dell'arte e della bellezza in Dante*, 1921 ; *La Divina Commedia secondo i codici di J. P. Morgan*, 1921.

not very original, being for the most part abridged copies from other commentators. He considered the manuscript very important from the point of view of the text and its numerous variants, especially for the *Inferno*, and interesting as regards orthography and grammar, for it offers useful material for the study of the language at the beginning of the fifteenth century. He also indicated its relationship with four other important manuscripts,¹ noting that it does not depend directly on any of these but shares with them dependence upon an equally important paleographical source. A new edition of Dante's poem, based on this text, was prepared by him and the late Sig. A. Valgimigli,² but it was never published. The manuscript bears on the flyleaf the autograph of G. L. Passerini, (Count G. L. Passerini of Florence, the Dante scholar, was editor of the *Giornale dantesco* from its beginning in 1893 until the year 1915) and it was bequeathed to the Library by Mrs. Rylands in 1908.

A third manuscript of the *Divina Commedia*, Italian MS. 48, is not complete. It contains the *Inferno*, and *Purgatorio* up to and including line 135 of canto xxv. It is written on vellum in a beautifully clear and even hand and bears the autograph of the Rev. Walter Sneyd (1809-88), whose family came from Keele in Staffordshire.³

A modern manuscript of the *Divina Commedia*, Italian MS. 50, another of Mrs. Rylands' bequests, written and illustrated by Attilio Razzolini of Florence in 1902, is a particularly sumptuous production and an interesting example of modern illumination. There are 104 folios on vellum, each mounted on cardboard. Four of these form decorated frontispieces to the whole work and the three *cantiche*, and on the others the text is written, but only on the right side—each folio containing one canto of the poem in four columns. The left side is lavishly adorned with

¹ (1) MS. of Berlin, de Batines 525 ; (2) Santa Croce, called MS. of Filippo Villani, Laurenziana XXVI, 1 ; (3) MS. Vaticano, 3199, of Boccaccio, de Batines, 319 ; (4) MS. Gaetani-Sermoneta, de Batines 375.

² Azeglio Valgimigli, 1861-1950. A teacher of Italian in Manchester for over fifty years and founder-member and Honorary Secretary of the Manchester Dante Society. See K. Speight, *Manchester Dante Society* (1957), pp. 7-9.

³ Information kindly supplied by Dr. Taylor.

borders and miniatures. Coloured copies of this manuscript were printed in the form of one hundred double post cards, each card containing one canto, in Milan, in 1902-3.

A late nineteenth-century manuscript, written on paper, Italian MS. 56, gives the text of the *Vita nuova*, according to Strozzi MS. 143, with variants added from a fourteenth-century manuscript in the Laurentian Library at Florence. It also includes sonnets by minor poets, Bindo Altoviti, Tommaso di Giunta and Deo Boni, and Dante's sonnet to Guido Cavalcanti, beginning: "Guido ivorre che tu elippo e dio . . ." [sic.]. It bears the ex libris of Jos. L. Passerini (the Passerini mentioned above) who used it in his preparation of the edition of the *Vita nuova* published in Florence in 1897, a copy of which is in the Library. This manuscript, too, was part of Mrs. Rylands' bequest.

Lastly, Italian MS. 57, also a bequest of Mrs. Rylands, which once belonged to G. L. Passerini, is a "Memoria" written in 1847 by Marchese Torquato Antaldi of Pesaro concerning two Dante manuscripts in Pesaro. The manuscripts in question are the Antaldino, belonging to the Antaldo family, and the Olivierano, bequeathed to the Pesaro Library.

The last two items are interesting from the point of view of the text and of G. L. Passerini's contribution to Dante studies. In addition to his *Vita nuova*, already mentioned, he produced an edition of the *Divina Commedia*, in four volumes in Florence in 1897-1901. He also wrote works on the life of Dante, such as *Sommario della vita di Dante*, 1897 and *Dante narrato agli Italiani*, 1915, and many articles and studies also of a promulgatory character. These are all in the Library. But although he owned the Landi codex there does not seem to be any evidence that he was planning to edit it. And unfortunately the Cossio-Valgimigli work on this text did not bear fruit. It is therefore very much to be hoped that before 1965 Bartholomew Landi may have found his editor, so that the omission of 1865 may be made good and he may emerge from his undeserved obscurity to become part of the septem-centenary celebrations, thus bringing further honour to the Library where he is so carefully preserved.

Editions of the Divina Commedia

The Library is extremely rich in these. Its collection is probably one of the most complete in existence. As regards the early centuries in particular few libraries can boast so many rarities.

Fifteenth century. Of the fifteen editions printed in this century, all are here except one: the Naples edition of 1474. But of this there are only three known copies, two in the British Museum and the third in the Stuttgart national library. This edition was not the first in time; three had appeared two years before. The first of these, the Foligno edition of 1472, is considered the *editio princeps* and the first that can be dated with certainty. Printed by a German printer, J. Numeister, in association with Emiliano Orfini, a rich nobleman of Foligno who worked as a goldsmith and also coined money for the Pope, it has clear, large, rounded, slightly Gothic letters, and there are few abbreviations. Of the four early editions it is judged to be nearest to the best manuscripts; and possibly it was the most generally used, for it is the least rare. Of the 300 printed there remain some forty copies. The other two editions of 1472, printed at Mantua and Jesi, are much rarer. Of the Mantuan there are four copies of the first printing, of which the Library has one, and six others of a later issue. Of the Jesi only seven copies are known. Mantua, where printing had recently been introduced, only just succeeded in issuing its Dante before Jesi, and both have at times been taken for the *editio princeps*. The Mantuan Dante is specially interesting because of its small characters and for the miniatures at the beginning of each *cantica*, the one introducing the *Inferno* being a head of the poet himself. The Jesi has the importance of being the first *Divina Commedia* to be printed exclusively by an Italian typographer. Unfortunately he made a great many mistakes. "Edizione zeppa di errori grossolani di stampa" was the harsh if correct criticism made four centuries later by Antonio Panizzi—the Italian exile who did so much to build up the famous British Museum Library—as he turned the pages of the copy that they possess.¹

¹ For information regarding A. Panizzi see C. Brooks, *Antonio Panizzi*, Manchester U.P., 1929.

To make up for the lack of the first Naples edition of 1474, the Library can point to the second one produced in Naples, in 1477, printed by one of the most famous of printers, Matthias d'Olmütz, called the Moravian, who was said to rival Nicolaus Jenson of Venice for the beauty of his letters and the excellence of his fine type. There are ten copies known of this fine book, which is interesting for the woodcut decorations of some of the initials, for the clear rounded characters and wide margins, and for the fact that there are no abbreviations, each letter of every word is printed in full, which was most unusual at this time.

Other editions show particular features of importance. For example, the Venice edition of 1477 contains Boccaccio's life of Dante and the commentary of Jacopo della Lana, both appearing for the first time. The Nidobeatino of Milan, 1478, with commentary by M. P. Nidobeatino, is important for its text, which was widely esteemed, and for its printing in two types, Roman characters being used for the text and Gothic for the commentary. The first (and only) edition produced in Florence during the century, printed in 1481, contains the celebrated commentary by Cristoforo Landino. The value of this last lies not only in the commentary, which although "only modest" (M. Barbi) was taken as a basis by so many later commentators, but also in its preface and the illustrations. The book was looked upon by the Florentines as a triumph of patriotism, scholarship and of the art of the printer. The preface is in part a panegyric of Florence, praised for its lovely position, its churches, villas and hospitals, its learned men and theologians, its poets, orators, musicians, artists, its great families, and its trade and agriculture; there is also a discussion of the origin and nature of poetry, the supreme art, which is inspired by God, the supreme poet, whose poem is the whole of creation, while the illustrations are a very delightful series of copper engravings, designed by Botticelli (probably an adaptation of the drawings in Berlin and the Vatican) and perhaps cut by Baccio Bandinelli. The publishing of this edition was a great event. The finished book was solemnly presented to the Signoria by Landino; and in token of its appreciation and gratitude his city gave him a house in the Casentino. Possibly meant by its author as symbolical of Dante's return in spirit to

his native Florence, the Landino edition is of special interest as affording evidence of the growing appreciation of the *volgare* as a literary language, and of that second phase of humanism in the *quattrocento*, which puts Dante firmly in his place among the classics. The Library has a fine copy of this important book ; one having particular interest because of the engravings. These were meant to be placed at the beginning of the cantos, and a space was left at the head of each one. But the artists worked much more slowly than the printer, so usually only the first two engravings were printed at the same time as the text. The others were made separately and then stuck in the appropriate place. Only nineteen were cut altogether, for the first nineteen cantos of the *Inferno*, and in most copies some of these are omitted ; in fact, copies with more than two or three are rather rare. But the Library copy has been very fortunate : it has the full series of nineteen and also an extra one to canto III, so that it possesses twenty altogether.¹

Illustrations, in the form of engravings or woodcuts, are used more and more in the editions appearing towards the end of the century. All of the illustrated editions, with the exception of one at Brescia in 1487, were produced at Venice, in the years 1484, 1491 (two), 1493 and 1497 ; for Venice, with the most flourishing and up-to-date printing industry in Italy in these early years, excelled in the art of book illustration, and accounted for seven editions in all, of the total of fifteen produced before 1500. The Venetian edition of 1484 reprinted the Landino commentary and is of interest for its fine engravings of the initials ; and, after the appearance of the Brescia edition, which, with its sixty-eight full-page woodcuts, may be considered the first " illustrated " edition of the *Divina Commedia*, the Venetian printers copied these, sometimes enlarging them, adapting them and adding to them. Some of these designs are thought to be by Mantegna ; but they appear to be realist and popular in style rather than Mantegnesque and classical, and the figures are

¹ The extra one is quite different from the one already illustrating canto III, although it depicts the same subject, the gate of Hell ; and Mr. Hall pointed out to me that perhaps there was some mistake in the printing of it, as the inscription over the gate : " Per me si va. . . " reads wrong way round, as if in a mirror.

depicted wearing contemporary dress. This is seen in the first 1491 edition, printed by B. Benali and Matteo da Parma. For instance, on folio cxxxiii verso the woodcut introducing the last canto of *Inferno* shows a lurid and terrifying Lucifer, with three enormous mouths full of horrible fangs, wide open in a snarling smile as he devours the helpless bodies of Judas, Brutus and Cassius, while in one corner of the picture Virgil throws a protecting arm round Dante, who seems too appalled to look at the fearful sight ; and nothing could be more suggestive of humility and obedience than the kneeling figure of Dante in the full-page illustration to the *Purgatorio* (folio cxxxviii verso), where he bends down for Virgil to wash the grime of Hell from his face. Again, in the *Paradiso*, on folio cclxxv recto, there is all the vigour of reality in the illustration at the head of canto xxvi. Up in the starry sphere Dante is being examined on love by St. John ; and while Beatrice, surrounded by a brilliant halo, is gazing on St. John, Dante turns to question a figure on the left, Adam. There is no doubt at all, by the intentness of their expressions, that these two are deeply engrossed in their conversation ; St. John seems to be standing there patiently, while Beatrice is out of the general interest of the picture. In the bottom half, on earth, below the starry heaven, the story of Adam is enacted. An angry angel, sword in hand, has just come out with a rush through the gate from Earthly Paradise, and is threatening Adam and Eve, two rather small skulking figures on the right, who are holding enormous fig leaves in one hand, and trying to cover up some of their nakedness with the other ; they seem to be shuffling shame-facedly away, like two naughty children who have been found out. The natural vivacity and spontaneity of these illustrations suggest an artist of genius, capable of giving artistic expression to delicate shades of feeling in his figures ; a realist rather than an idealist, with a liking for the vivid, and occasionally for the grotesque.¹ This edition, so interesting for its woodcuts, reproduced the Landino commentary and it has the distinction of being the first edition in which Dante is referred to as "divino". The later Venice edition of 1493, which copied these woodcuts,

¹ It is permissible to dwell on these woodcuts, for they were repeatedly copied for more than half a century.

is generally considered to be the best of the Venetian illustrated editions of this century, because of its very rich decoration and extremely clear and carefully cut type. Of this the Library has two copies and it is interesting to note that one of these is in a stamped leather binding and bears the arms of Henry VIII.

This collection of handsome books, fourteen out of a possible fifteen *incunabula*, will not easily be matched for rarity of editions, for beauty of typography and also for the very fine condition in which they are here preserved. Their importance in the history of typography and of early book illustration is self-evident, as is also their value for a study of various Dante matters, such as the early commentators and biographers, illustrators of the *Divina Commedia*, problems relating to the text and textual criticism, and the fame and fortune of Dante during this early period.

Sixteenth century. The beginning of the century saw the appearance of one of the most famous editions of Dante's poem : the Aldine of 1502, which has been called the "vulgate", for its text became the basis for most of the subsequent editions for the next 300 years. Towards the end of the century, in 1595, another carefully prepared text, based on the Aldine, was the first edition sponsored by the Crusca Academy. Both editions are in the Library. Of the thirty-five published in the intervening years the Library only lacks eight, these being for the most part reprints of earlier editions or not of first importance. Important editions are here and there are many bibliographical rarities. Among the latter may be mentioned : the 1516 Toscolano edition, which was the first in a very small format (16mo.) ; the 1529 Venice edition with red and black frontispiece and full-page portrait of Dante in profile, wearing a cap and laurel chaplet ; the important Marcolini, Venice, edition of 1544, with omission of lines in the *Purgatorio* (the Library also has a copy with the error corrected) ; the Venice edition of 1555, printed by Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, in small size (12mo), very elegantly decorated with initials and tailpieces, and the first edition in which Dante's poem is given the title of *Divina Commedia* ; the Venice edition of 1564, one of the editions called "al gran naso" from the portrait of Dante with a large nose ; the rare second edition

of Domenico Farri, Venice, 1578, which includes Dolce's life of Dante, Boccaccio's sonnet in his praise and a table of difficult words; and the last edition of the century, printed in 1596 at Venice by G. B. Marchio Sessa, which later came under the censure of Madrid for derogatory passages referring to Popes and to corruption in the Papacy; these passages in 1614 were placed on the *index expurgatorius*.¹ The Library also possesses what appears to be an unrecorded counterfeit of the Aldine edition of 1515, as well as one of the known ones of 1502, imitating the first edition; for the counterfeiters were remarkably quick as well as remarkably clever in producing their imitations.

Imitation denotes appreciation and the many counterfeits of the editions of Aldus are a measure of the esteem in which these were held. In addition to the importance of its text, his first Dante is also famous as being the first *Divina Commedia* in portable size. It bears his device,² which gained such renown, of the anchor and dolphin, symbolising the Latin proverb, *festina lente*, and is printed in the wonderfully clear and beautiful italic type, first used the previous year in his Virgil and said to be modelled on the handwriting of Pietro Bembo, which set the fashion for the kind of type which was to be used predominantly throughout the century.

Preoccupation with textual problems is a feature of many of the editions of the *cinquecento*. The Library collection gives evidence of this. The Florentine edition of 1506, printed by Filippo di Giunta in small format, in imitation of Aldus, and edited by the biographer, Antonio Manetti, is based on the Aldine text, but its many corrections of this seem to have been made from various good manuscripts.³ Aldus himself endeavoured to improve on his first edition in his second, dedicated to Vittoria Colonna in 1515, for which he is said to have very carefully studied an early manuscript in his own possession written about 1360. And one or two later editions follow his second rather than his first edition, while one important edition does not follow

¹ The passages in question were: *Inf.* XI, 8-9; *Inf.* XIX, 106-18; *Par.* IX, 136-end.

² This first appeared in his *Poetae Christiani veteres*, 1501-2.

³ This edition is also interesting for Manetti's diagram plan of the *Inferno*, frequently copied down to the beginning of the nineteenth century.

the Aldine tradition, that of the Marcolini, Venice, printed in 1544, already mentioned. This was dedicated to Pope Paul III and includes, for the first time, the commentary and life of Dante by Vellutello. Vellutello, in the life, speaks somewhat scornfully of the Aldine editions as being very incorrect ; but if his judgement is not always sound, his commentary shows care and diligence in trying to find the correct readings and to supply a literal interpretation of them. The edition most interesting and most important from the textual point of view, after that of Aldus of 1502, is undoubtedly that of the Crusca of 1595. This was very carefully prepared by a group of members of the Academy, led by their secretary and founder-member, Bastiano de' Rossi, also known to fame as the editor and chief compiler of their famous dictionary, first published in 1612. Again the Aldine text is taken as the basis, but in it are incorporated emendations and corrections and many variants are given in the margins, as a result of diligent consultation of upwards of 100 manuscripts. Unfortunately, the printer, Domenico Manzani, was neither so conscientious nor so painstaking as the academicians, and many mistakes crept in. Foscolo, in his *Notizie . . . alla serie delle edizioni della Commedia di Dante* records that : " Immense furono le cure dei Signori Accademici per rettificare il testo di questo celebratissimo poema ; . . . ma . . . l'esecuzione della stampa fu affidata al Manzani, il quale non corrispose alla laboriosa diligenza degl'illustri collaboratori, e l'edizione riuscì non molto elegante e ricolma d'errori ! " ¹ But, in spite of not being very elegant and with all its faults this edition is of first importance. As regards text it was an improvement on anything that had been printed so far, and it became the standard text for the whole of the eighteenth century and well into the nineteenth, thus perpetuating the Aldine tradition ; and it is of the greatest interest as being a first attempt at the collation of so many manuscripts with the object of producing the most correct reading of a great poem.

If interesting from the point of view of textual problems, the editions of the sixteenth century have little to offer in the way of commentaries on the poem. There are only two complete

¹ U. Foscolo, *La commedia di Dante Allighieri . . .* (1845), iv. 115.

commentaries worth mentioning, that of Alessandro Vellutello, referred to above, and that of Bernardo Daniello, in the Venice edition of 1568. Both are in the Library. Vellutello's short commentary, free from the usual learned digressions, and based, as far as historical data is concerned, on Landino, is an attempt to give a literal interpretation of the text ; and he is interesting as being one of the first to research into Dante's allusions to his contemporaries. But on the whole his work is mediocre in comparison with his predecessors while Daniello is not much better, being sometimes uncertain in his allegorical meanings and even on occasions misunderstanding the literal. Vellutello's commentary is printed in three later editions and parts of it appear in the following centuries. Daniello's appears only the once. Neither progressed much beyond Landino, and it is significant that Landino's commentary continues to be used in many *cinquecento* editions and even later.

Nearly all the editions in this century are illustrated except those of Aldus, and the method used is almost invariably the wood-cut. The Marcolini of 1544 is an important turning point in the development of these sixteenth-century illustrations. Before this year all the editions show an almost complete lack of originality. The woodcuts in the famous 1491 Venice edition of B. Benali and Matteo da Parma are regularly copied, even down to the smallest details, or else servilely imitated. But with the Marcolini there is a complete change in spirit and in style. L. Volkmann¹ notes how there is now a new treatment of form, a new conception of the whole, and a new attitude to the ancient world. The poets wear ancient costume and laurel wreaths ; and there is a change in the demons, for they are no longer medieval and grotesque in their gargoyle-like character, but have become modern. Cerberus, for instance, is definitely a dog with three heads, and not a devil. This change may be seen in an examination of the editions before 1544, for instance in those of 1512, 1516, 1529 compared with that of the 1544 and the ones that come after that year, all of which are in the Library. It is symptomatic, too, that after the appearance of the Marcolini, copying of the *quattrocento* illustrations ceases almost entirely,

¹ L. Volkmann, *Iconografia Dantesca* (1899), pp. 117-18.

and the Marcolini itself becomes the model for editions in the second half of the century. There is one more point of interest in connection with the illustrations which also emphasizes the completeness of the Rylands collection of editions in this century. Marcolini's edition was not only copied in Italy but also in France. There were five editions of the *Divina Commedia* printed at Lyons during the century, the earliest being in the year 1547; all are in the Library. The last four, printed by Guglielmo Rovillio, like their Italian contemporaries, have also had recourse to Marcolini for their illustrations, and they have copied, rather badly, the woodcuts of the three large title pages to preface to their printings of the three *cantiche*.

Seventeenth century. This, the most unfortunate century for the fame of Dante and for Dante studies, only produced three editions of the *Divina Commedia* during the whole of the period, and of these one is merely a reprint of another, though by a different printer. The Library possesses two of these very rare editions. The first in chronological order, printed at Padua in 1613, is not here; but the reprint of 1629 is in the collection. It has the title of *La visione, poema di Dante*, and includes a table giving the headings of the subjects treated in the poem. The third and more interesting was printed in the same year in Venice by Niccolo Misserini. It is in very small format (16mo) and has the subject matter and the allegories expounded for each canto. It includes two indices: one, of the most important words used by Dante with their meanings; the other, of the most notable matters in the poem. Both editions are printed in italics, and both follow the text of Ludovico Dolce in the Venice edition of 1555.

Eighteenth century. A characteristic of the editions in the eighteenth century is the greater importance given to commentaries, notes, indices, vocabularies, and lists of notable matters, in fact, to many kinds of aid to the better understanding and appreciation of Dante's poem. This is evident from the collection in the Library which comprises about two-thirds of some thirty produced altogether. For example, the first of the century, the Crusca Academy's second edition, printed in Naples

in 1716, has many additions in the way of topics discussed, interpretations of allegories, explanations of difficult words. The Cominiana edition, so-called from its printer, Giuseppe Comino, printed in Padua in 1727 and edited by G. A. Volpi, has an index of difficult words with meanings, a biography of Dante and of Petrarch, notes in the margin taken from Aldus, as well as a rhyming dictionary of all the lines in the poem. The Venice edition of 1784 also has a vocabulary of difficult words, placed at the end of each canto in this case, and it also provides historical and critical notes and an essay comparing Dante and Michelangelo. Some print the life of Dante by Ludovico Dolce from the sixteenth century editions, but more use contemporary biographers, such as Pierantonio Serassi and Ludovico Aretino. There is a charming little edition in two volumes (in 12mo) printed in Paris by Marcel Prault in 1768, which, in addition to a life of Dante by a certain Abate Marrini and a discourse on doctrinal matters in Dante by a Padre Berti, also includes a small pocket dictionary in Italian and French, to help the reader understand the Italian authors.

Very few editions are printed without commentary ; and for the most part new commentators appear. The 1732 edition printed at Lucca by the Jesuits boasts in its sub-title an explanation of the literal sense of the poem which differs in many places from that given by the ancient commentators. The anonymous commentator was the Jesuit, Pompeo Venturi, whose commentary later became the most popular, though by no means the best. It appeared again in the first edition of the Works in 1739-41, and again in the sumptuous one in five volumes printed by Antonio Zatta in 1757-8. Both these are in the Library. But among other very minor names, two commentators stand out : Baldassare Lombardi and Giovanni Jacopo Dionisi. Lombardi's *La Divina Commedia di Dante Alighieri nuovamente corretta spiegata e difesa* was printed in Rome in 1791. In spite of a few misapprehensions, his interpretation of the poem, literal and allegorical, is clear and sound ; but it is his achievement with regard to the text which brought him fame. Foscolo relates how he spent the best part of a long life " all'esecuzione di tanto lodevole impresa, di correggere, spiegare e difendere quest'

epico divino poema".¹ With the aid of manuscripts not consulted by the academicians and with the examination of many printed texts, particularly early ones, and especially the Milanese one of 1478 of Martin Paolo Nidobeato, he produced the best text to date, later known as the Nidobeatino del Lombardi. He must have been a man of immense industry and tremendous patience. For it is related how, when after very many years of hard work, he finished the text, he decided to send it to Naples to be printed. On the journey there it got lost. Nothing loath, he quietly and determinedly set himself to do it all over again. His edition was finally printed in Rome and thus gained for itself the distinction of being the first complete Roman edition of Dante's poem. The copy in the Library is a rarity, being printed on blue paper. The other commentator mentioned above, G. J. Dionisi of Verona, whose criticism of Dante in his *Aneddoti danteschi*, 1785-94, was much in advance of his times, and whose textual studies revealed that the "Ottimo commento" and that of Jacopo della Lana were two quite different commentaries, produced a magnificent edition at Parma printed by the most famous printer of the century, Bodoni. This is also a rare and much sought-after book. The text is basically that of the Crusca, corrected from manuscripts not before taken into account; but it is noted by Foscolo that this edition would have been even better if Dionisi, in his wish to rival Lombardi, had not sometimes allowed his text to be spoilt because his jealousy interfered with his better judgement. There were only 130 copies of this edition printed. Lombardi had felt it necessary to "defend" Dante; and other editions also have an echo of the Dante controversy which raged during the century, roused particularly by Saverio Bettinelli's famous *Lettere virgiliane*. For example, the edition of the Works printed by Zatta in 1757-8 also includes Gaspare Gozzi's *Difesa di Dante*, the direct reply to Bettinelli; and later, Vincenzo Martinelli's life of Dante and *Due lettere apologetiche*, defending Dante from the criticism of Voltaire, are printed with the 1778 London (Leghorn) edition. All these works may be consulted in the Library.

¹ U. Foscolo, *La commedia*, op. cit. p. 123.

From the point of view of book illustration the important editions are here. Not all the *settecento* editions have illustrations. There is indeed the beginning of a dividing line between the de luxe editions with illustrations and the economical ones without, and most of the illustrations are copper-plates, which have now almost entirely supplanted the woodcuts. The two most interesting illustrated editions are both by the same printer, A. Zatta, of Venice. These are the 1757-8 edition of the Works and the 1784 of the *Commedia*. The first is baroque, "showing skill in technique with lack of ideas and want of distinction in form",¹ while the second is rococo, so very different, a pretty pocket Dante, decorated with graceful prints, in which everything is "serene and elegant, executed in the most minute fashion, and full of pleasing effects".² But there is not a trace of a serious understanding of the subject or of a real comprehension of Dante. The illustrators would seem to be behind the commentators, who are beginning to study more critically the quality of Dante's poetry. The *Difesa di Dante* of G. Gozzi and the *Aneddoti danteschi* by G. J. Dionisi, both mentioned above, are cases in point. For the study of Dante's portrait two editions here are of particular interest: the 1749 Verona edition includes the portrait by Bernardino India, a portrait which was copied throughout the eighteenth century, until we come to Dionisi's edition in 1795; in this the famous portrait by Stefano Tofanelli, cut by R. Morghen, appears. This later completely ousted Bernardino India's and it was used regularly until 1840, when with the discovery of Giotto's portrait by Kirkup, this last was taken to be the nearest likeness to the real Dante, and became the one to be most copied—after the painting by Kirkup, as is seen, for example in Foscolo's London edition of 1842-3.

Nineteenth century. During the century which saw the Romantic movement and the struggle for independence and unity, Dante came into his own. The men of the Risorgimento, somewhat falsifying Dante's thought, looked upon him as a prophet of Italian unity (Mazzini), and as the most Italian of all Italians (Balbo), and the *Divina Commedia* became the "sacro

¹ L. Volkmann, op. cit. p. 128.

² Ibid.

libro degli Italiani ". In the last half of the previous century a growing and more truly appreciative understanding of the poem is seen in the increase and in the quality of the editions published ; and this tendency gains momentum almost from the beginning of the present century. While in the eighteenth century an edition appears roughly every three or four years, now there is hardly a year that passes without a new edition, and often there are two or three in a year. In all some 380-400 editions were published, including reprints, and of these the present collection has rather less than half. But these are in the main the editions of greatest value or importance.

Among rarities and highly prized editions are the following : the Crusca of 1807, in Bodoni type, by G. Masi, Leghorn, the text of which is taken mainly from a manuscript earlier than 1333, and including the now popular portrait of Dante by Stefano Tofanelli, cut by Morghen ; the first London edition of 1808-9, by Zotti, again with the Morghen portrait ; the 1815-17 Roman, with engravings by Flaxman ; the 1817-19 Florentine, all'Insegna dell'Ancora, a magnificent de luxe edition, dedicated to Canova, with a series of pictures drawn by Luigi Ademollo and Francesco Nenci,¹ which was based on the celebrated manuscript supposed to have been written by Boccaccio and which was annotated by Petrarch, to whom it belonged (presuming that it is the copy that Boccaccio sent to his friend with a letter in 1359, earnestly begging him to read Dante's poem);² the 1827-9 Pisan, with the first edition of the "Ottimo commento" ; the first edition of N. Tommaseo in Venice, 1837 ; the 1840-2 Florentine by Domenico Fabris with plates by Flaxman, Ademollo and Bartolommeo Pinelli ; the first edition of the commentary of Francesco Buti, in 1858-62 at Pisa, of which there were only 300 copies ; the fine edition of the commentary of Jacopo della Lana, Milan, 1865, of which only 200 copies were printed ; the first printing of the Cassinese codex, 1865, Cassino ; the first edition in Italy of the whole poem

¹ Not however, of great artistic worth ; see L. Volkmann, op. cit. p. 150.

² " Accogli, ti prego questo tuo condittadino, e dotto insieme e poeta ; accogli, leggilo, uniscilo a' tuoi, onoralo, lodalo." Thus wrote Boccaccio. N. Sapegno, *Il Trecento* (1934), p. 371.

with the G. Doré illustrations, in 1869, Milan ; and, finally, the 1878 Padua "Dantino", a microscopic edition, measuring only 56 mm. by 34 mm.

The Library does not possess the 1804 edition printed in Penning, Saxony, to which were attached, in an atlas, illustrations by Flaxman, but it has other Flaxman editions. Of the year 1804 there is here the important Milan edition, in the series *Biblioteca de' Classici Italiani*, a vast publishing enterprise of 250 volumes, significant for the history of the rise of the national conscience at this time. This has the commentary of Jacopo della Lana, notes by Lombardi and an essay on astronomical problems in the *Divina Commedia* by a group of Milan astronomers, showing a widening of interest in many matters connected with Dante's poem.

In this list of rarities, names of some of the earliest commentators are mentioned. The "Ottimo" had appeared in 1827, but it is particularly in the second half of the century that the fourteenth century commentators are studied, translated and given critical editions. In addition to Francesco Buti and Jacopo della Lana, the commentary of Benvenuto da Imola was translated into Italian and printed with the text of the poem in 1855-6 by G. Tamburini at Imola. W. Warren Vernon published the whole of this commentary in Latin in a critical text in London in 1887 and he based his *Readings on the Inferno, Purgatorio and Paradiso*, London, 6 vols., 1894-6, on it. Jacopo had another edition in 1866 at Bologna. An unpublished early Latin commentary by a certain S. Talice da Ricaldone (? 1374), found in the Royal Library at Turin, was printed in 1886 by command of King Umberto I, and dedicated to his son, Victor Emmanuel, then a youth of about seventeen years of age, "in premio al suo amore allo studio".¹ All these works are in the Library, as is also the one which, in the next century, crowned all these efforts towards a comparative study of the early commentators and a deeper understanding of their background: the monumental work edited by Guido Biagi, *La Divina Commedia nella figurazione artistica e nel secolare commento*, Florence, 1924-7, which, with the text of G. Vandelli, prints a revision, in

¹ G. Mambelli, *Gli annali delle edizioni dantesche* (1931), p. 167.

chronological order, of all the significant commentators, ancient and modern, from Jacopo della Lana to Raffaele Andreoli ; that is, from the year 1325 to 1856. Unfortunately, Biagi did not live to see his great work completed. It was continued after his death by E. Rostagno and G. L. Passerini.

Textual studies made enormous strides in this century after Foscolo's *Discorso sul testo della Divina Commedia*, 1825, and more particularly towards the end of the century with the rise of the German school of philology and the appearance of Dante scholars in that country and in England. In the early years of the century the Nidobeatino del Lombardi was often taken as the basis, as in the Rome editions of 1806 and 1815 and the London one of 1808 ; and the Cominiana was occasionally used with the commentaries of either Volpi or Venturi of the last century. But towards the 1820s a keener interest in textual studies is seen in the 1817 edition of the Crusca at Florence ; the 1822 edition of the Minerva at Padua, which includes the collation of a great number of texts ; and in the printing of the Bartolinian codex at Udine in 1823-8. An attempt at a comparison of all known texts was made in 1832 in *Rivista delle varie lezioni della Divina Commedia sinora avvisate, col catalogo delle più importanti edizioni*, Angelo Sicca, Padova. But the most important edition before the Foscolian in 1842-3¹ is the Cruscan of 1837, based on Nidobeatino but with the collation of many Florentine manuscripts and early editions, in which the stated aim of the collaborators was to restore the text to its " primitiva originalità ". Among the collaborators were major figures in the literary world : G. B. Niccolini, Gino Capponi and Giuseppe Borghi. Foscolo, their contemporary and friend, realizing, as they did, the need for a completely fresh start and an orderly and objective study of the manuscript sources, brings to bear on the problem far greater critical acumen in his *Discorso*, where he lays down certain important norms for the examination of a text. These are : a text is not the most authoritative because it is the oldest, but because it can be shown to be nearest to the original ; one must distinguish between variants made by scribes, those made by commentators and those made by the author himself ;

¹ *La Commedia di Dante Allighieri, illustrata da U. F.*, London.

in a choice of readings the *lectio difficilior* is the one preferable ; a text can only be properly interpreted if the reasons for its being written and the times in which it was produced are carefully studied ; and, finally, the ultimate aim must never be forgotten : a better understanding of the poetry, which is the object of ALL study, even of philology. The influence of Foscolo is seen to some extent in the Cruscan edition of 1837 just mentioned (and attested by his correspondence with the collaborators, who were his friends) ; but it is not so much in Italy, as abroad, that a more scientific approach to textual studies is discernible, in the latter half of the century, stimulated by work done by German philologists, such as Frederick Schlosser, Edoard Böhmer and Carl Witte. The latter's *La Divina Commedia, ricorretta sopra quattro dei più autorevoli testi a penna*, Berlin, 1862, with an introduction giving a history of the printed editions, became a milestone in the history of the textual criticism of Dante's poem and paved the way for the important works in this sense which appeared towards the end of the century. For example, the edition by another German Dantist, G. A. Scartazzini, in 1874-80 ; that of A. J. Butler, London, 1890 ; and of G. Poletto, Tournay, in the same year ; until we come to that most important work by Edward Moore, *Contributions to the Textual Criticism of the Divina Commedia*, Cambridge, 1891, followed soon after by his edition of *Tutte le opere*, Oxford, 1894. Meanwhile, in Italy the 1865 sexcentenary anniversary celebrations of Dante's birth, coinciding with the attainment of national independence, called forth much printing and many studies of codices from all parts of Italy, as each city vied to do honour to the greatest of Italians and to attract notice to its Dante treasures. In addition to the Cassinese codex mentioned above, there are publications relating to texts from places as far apart as Mantua and Sarzana, Milan, Bologna and Cividale, Udine, Belluno, Bergamo and Rome. There is ample material for the study of all these matters in the Library, which possesses all the items enumerated so far, and has a particularly large selection of textual studies of many kinds published about this time.

The main commentaries of the century are also here : that of Biagioli in 1818-19, Paris, important for his interpretation of

Dante's poetry and particularly for his appreciation of the *Paradiso* at a time when this *cantica* was considered of less value than the other two because of its preoccupation with theological and doctrinal matters ; the Roman 1820-2 edition, following Biagioli, but revised by the poet Vincenzo Monti and by G. Perticari and P. Costa ; the 1826-7 commentary by D. G. Rossetti, London, with his esoteric interpretation ; the Tommaseo, 1837, and the Foscolian, 1842-3, already mentioned ; an edition of 1866 anotated by Gioberti ; and, towards the end of the century, such famous names in Dante scholarship appear as T. Casini, P. Fraticelli, I. del Lungo, F. Torraca, F. d'Ovidio, M. Barbi and N. Zingarelli.

Pictorial illustrations of this century may be conveniently studied here. Bibliography¹ is ample and there are many of the most interesting examples for reference. The neo-classical style, for instance, is well seen in the Flaxman editions, particularly, 1815-17, Rome ; the transition from the classical to the romantic in the lavish Florentine edition of 1817-19, All'insegna dell'Ancora, dedicated to Canova, with illustrations by Ademollo and Nenci. This last comes in for some scathing remarks by Volkmann,² who considers that the affected classicism of Ademollo does not prevent him from being coarse and crude, that his sense of form is defective and his tendency to exaggeration strong. Some of his figures, the "Virgil . . . with well-trimmed whiskers", for example, or the female personages with Greek hair styles on modern heads, he finds quite repulsive. (One wonders what Canova thought about them !) Foscolo, too, who was never one to mince words, is scornful of them, and calls them vulgar and exaggerated ; but he is also scornful of the preface to the volume of illustrations, calling it "una dissertazione pedantescaamente teologica di cose rifritte inintelligibili".³ Yet these illustrations were printed many times and were, moreover, chosen for the de luxe Florentine edition, the *Album dantesco*, printed for the 1865 anniversary celebrations. This volume, as well as all those mentioned previously, may be seen in the Library ; and on examination of the illustrations it will perhaps

¹ L. Volkmann, op. cit. ; O. Fischel, *Dante und die Kunstler*, Berlin, 1921 ; R. J. Holbrook, *Portraits of Dante from Giotto to Raphael*, London, 1911.

² L. Volkmann, op. cit. pp. 149-150.

³ *La Commedia di D.A.*, iv. 130.

be agreed that the whiskered Virgil is all that Volkmann claims. The newly awakened interest in History seen in the desire to reproduce the correct background to Dante's poem is exemplified in the Pisan edition of the "Ottimo commento" in 1827-9, particularly in the realistic picture of the Torre della fame, and the Florentine edition of 1840-2 by D. Fabris, with its number of historical pictures and representations of landscapes illustrates the same tendency, while the large volume by Corrado Ricci, *La Divina Commedia di Dante Alighieri illustrata nei luoghi e nelle persone*, Hoepli, Milan, 1898, may be taken as the culmination of this trend. Here the aim is to take the reader into Dante's world of thought by reproducing the places he visited, the landscapes he describes and contemporary likenesses of the people he met. It is very carefully and cleverly done; but if it helps us to understand the material world in which Dante lived, it cannot take us into his world of the mind. As Volkmann¹ remarks, these are not so much pictures to the poem as illustrations to the commentaries. Linked with these illustrations of a didactic kind are the diagrams and plans of the three realms, which appear more and more frequently. The earliest of any consequence was the *Inferno* of Antonio Manetti, which appeared as early as 1506, in the Florentine Giunta edition² and which was copied even in the century under review. But the first important series is that of the Lombardi Roman edition of 1791, by Antonio Fulgoni, in part inspired by Botticelli's drawings; this was also much copied. Foscolo's edition of 1842-3 follows this tradition, as do most others with slight modifications. All the relevant editions containing interesting diagrams are in the present collection.

Twentieth century. In the first year of the century Edward Moore published a revised edition of his *Tutte le opere* (Oxford), and this remained the best text until the critical edition appeared in 1921. This was prepared for the centenary, at the instigation of Michele Barbi and under the auspices of the Società dantesca italiana, by a group of famous Dante scholars, E. G. Parodi, F. Pellegrini, E. Pistelli, P. Rajna, E. Rostagno, and G. Vandelli,

¹ L. Volkmann, op. cit. p. 199.

² See above p. 185.

led by M. Barbi himself. Among the editions of interest published before this important event, the Library boasts two copies of the Ashendene Press Dante, Oxford, 1902-5; the editions of T. Casini, G. A. Scartazzini, and an early one by G. Vandelli, 1902—this last illustrated by various Italian artists, and meant for use by the public attending lectures on Dante¹; and an edition of 1911, by G. L. Passerini, dedicated to King Victor Emmanuel III, on the anniversary of his accession, and including a preface by D'Annunzio. Of this only 306 copies were printed. The year of celebration saw many Dante publications. Among highly prized editions may be cited: two de-luxe editions from Germany, one from Berlin, with the Botticelli drawings, and the other by Carl Toth, published in Zurich, Leipzig and Vienna, containing photographs and coloured plates. An important *Facsimile del codice landiano del 1336* was published by Olschki, Florence, with an introduction by A. Balsamo and G. Bertoni. The *landiano* was so-called from Marchese Ferdinando Landi (1778-1853) who left the codex to the Library at Piacenza. In the explicit we read that it was translated in 1336 at the command of Beccario Beccaria, podestà of Genoa, by a certain Antonio da Fermo. It is therefore the oldest of all *dated* manuscripts of the *Divina Commedia*. Of this edition only 175 copies were printed. Meanwhile, after the centenary, Giuseppe Vandelli, who, of the group of scholars mentioned above, was chosen to edit the *Divina Commedia* text and who was one of the most scrupulous and indefatigable of textual critics, brought out another revised edition of his text in 1923 (Le Monnier, Florence), another again four years later, and yet another in 1928, with Hoepli, Milan, and in the following year a further edition with the Scartazzini commentary completely revised. He was still occupied with this work when he died in 1937. But on the foundations of this achievement others are building. In particular a younger generation of Dantists, who, under the chairmanship of Gianfranco Contini, and again with the blessing and aid of the Società dantesca italiana, is planning what is hoped will be the definitive text for the anniversary in 1965. The magnitude of

¹ G. Vandelli was the promoter of the "Lecturae Dantis" held in Florence since 1900.

the task will be realized when it is remembered that for the *Commedia* alone more than 600 manuscripts will be taken into account. The 1921 critical edition of all the works is, of course, in the Library, together with Vandelli's editions and the essential bibliography for a study of the textual criticism of the *Commedia* and of relative problems. For example, E. Moore, *Textual Criticism of the Divina Commedia*, Cambridge, 1889; M. Barbi, *Per il testo della Divina Commedia*, Roma, 1891; M. Casella's preface to the edition of his critical text in 1923; Vandelli's preface to his text of 1927; D. Guerri's in his edition of 1918; as well as the many studies on the subject in *Studi danteschi* during this period by E. G. Parodi, F. D'Ovidio, and G. Mazzoni, in addition to those of the scholars already mentioned.

The critical edition inspired Moore to further effort, and in the library is his 4th edition of *Tutte le opere* 1924, in which the text is a compromise between the critical and the traditional. Many other editions appeared in the 1920s. The most important were those of V. Rossi (1923), L. Pietrobono (1924-7), and F. Flamini & A. Pompeati (1925-30), a Berlin edition with the Botticelli drawings, in 3 volumes edited by C. Weber (1925), and the Vandelli-Scartazzini (1929) already referred to. All these are in the collection, but there are lacunae in the 1930s and after. It should be noted that new ones not in the collection, such as, for instance, M. Scherillo (1937-8), D. Provenzal (1938) or E. Mestica (1938), are not to be preferred to the Vandelli of 1929, still superior both as regards text and commentary. But as the "aesthetic" trend in Dante criticism of the last twenty to thirty years is not very well represented in the commentaries here, that of C. Grabher (1934) and more particularly of A. Momigliano (1945-7) would be useful additions. However, the most important recent edition has found its way into the Library: *Dante Alighieri, La Divina Commedia*, Milan, 1957, in the series *La letteratura italiana, Storia e testi* (a series as vast in scope as the famous *Classici* of 1804), edited by N. Sapegno. This edition, with its masterly introduction, recapitulating main critical problems, its full bibliography, a text based on the last Vandelli, and a commentary which takes account of the entire exegetical

tradition, gives a clear and concise picture of Dante studies in our own day, and is a fitting conclusion to this survey of the editions of his poem over the centuries.

Translations of the Divina Commedia. After the Bible the *Divina Commedia* is probably the book that has been most frequently translated, and the Library has a very fine collection of translations in upwards of thirty different languages. The main European languages represented include Latin and Greek, English, French, German, Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, Danish, Swedish, and Modern Greek. Of the Slav languages there are Russian, Polish, Serbian, and Czech. Also represented are Hungarian, Welsh, Catalan, Maltese, and some Italian dialects, such as Calabrese and Venetian, while among Far Eastern tongues are Japanese and Siamese (selections). There are also selections in Sanskrit.

The large majority of the versions is, naturally, English and there are some fifty to sixty translators, including American. Some of the earliest versions are here. Canto XXXIII of the *Inferno* in English verse by F. Howard, Earl of Carlisle, in 1773, was the first translation into English of any considerable part of the poem. Charles Rogers' *Inferno* in 1782 and Henry Boyd's *Inferno* in 1795 are both first editions, as is also Boyd's verse translation of the whole poem in 1802. The latter is not much more than a paraphrase, and a much greater achievement is Henry F. Cary's version, the *Inferno*, which first appeared in 1805. All these are included in the collection, as also is William M. Rossetti's blank verse version in 1865 and Longfellow's version of 1867. Some translators adopt the Spenserian stanza, such as G. Musgrave, 1893, and C. Gordon Wright, 1905. Charles Shadwell, 1883, adopts the Marvellian stanza. But, later, more attempts were made to reproduce Dante's rhyme and rhythm, as, for example by Lacy Lockert, Princeton, and J. B. Fletcher, New York, both in 1931. The best of these interpretations is that of the English poet Lawrence Binyon, *Inferno, Purgatorio, Paradiso* (1933-43). Two interesting versions more recently are those of the late Dorothy L. Sayers, also in triple rhyme, *The Comedy of Dante Alighieri, the Florentine, Cantica I,*

Hell, 1949, and *II, Purgatory*, 1955; and the prose version by J. D. Sinclair, *Dante. The Divine Comedy*, 3 vols., 1939-46, a polyglot edition with the English prose version printed on the opposite page to the poem.

There are some twenty-five to thirty translations into French, including the first translation made of the whole poem in 1597 by an anonymous translator and dedicated to King Henry IV. There is a verse translation in 1776 and a prose version in 1796, and many, in verse, in the nineteenth century. Towards the end of the century a useful study of the earliest versions in French appeared in C. Morel, *Les plus anciennes traductions françaises de la Divine Comédie*, 1895-9. Morel printed some of the earliest known versions in French: from a manuscript in the Biblioteca Nazionale at Turin of the *Inferno*, from another in Vienna, which is presumed to be the oldest (probably early second half of the sixteenth century), and from fragments in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, dedicated to the wife of Francis I. All these works are in the collection. There are also two of special interest from the pictorial point of view: a version of the *Inferno* in 1861 with designs by G. Doré, and in 1908 a translation by A. Meliôt illustrated by portraits of Dante by Giotto and Masaccio. Finally, the most recent is also here, that by Alexandre Masseron, Paris (1947-50), 4 vols.

There are also some interesting translations into German. A prose version of the whole Comedy in 1767-8 seems to have been the earliest. This is not in the collection, but the first translation in verse, in 1839, by the Dante enthusiast King John of Saxony "Philalethes" is here, and also a later edition of 1868-71. The collection includes about twenty versions. Among them are a verse translation in 1842 by August Kopesch and another, 1870-1, by Wilhelm Krigar with illustrations by Doré, and an introduction by Carl Witte. Karl Witte also produced a German version in 1876. In 1921 there were half a dozen or more, including one by Stefan George and one by Konrad Falke. The most recent German version is also included in the collection, that by Hermann Gmelin, 1949, Stuttgart.

There are about half a dozen translations into Latin and the same number into Spanish. The most interesting in Latin are

two. A polyglot edition appeared in 1728 by C. d'Aquino, Naples, but not complete. In 1891 a certain Fra Giovanni de Serravalle translated the whole of the *commedia* into Latin, and published it in Prato with a Latin commentary of the fifteenth century. In Spanish there is an early edition of the *Inferno* only, dated 1515 by Don Pedro Fernandez de Villegas, Burgos ; an edition of the whole poem in 1916 by A. Aranda Sanjuán, illustrated by A. Saló ; and a later one in 1931 by Juan de la Pezuela. There is also a study of the earliest versions in Spanish which are to be found in the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid in the *Festschrift* for Professor Menendez y Pidal, published in 1891. The first translations into Russian, Polish, Danish and Swedish were made about the middle of the nineteenth century ; these are not in the Library. The Library's copies are all dated early this century. Finally there is a curiosity : a translation of the first canto of the *Inferno* into Volapuk, an artificial international language, which might be taken as a symbol of the realization of the universality of Dante's genius.

Minor Works, editions, translations, bibliography. There is a large selection of editions of the Minor Works. Rarities and highly prized editions include : two copies of the *editio princeps* of the *Vita Nuova*, 1576 ; the *editio princeps* of the *Convito*, Florence, 1490 ; the first edition of the *Monarchia* to be printed in Italy, in 1740, Venice, included with other works of Dante (the rare first Basle edition is not in the Library) ; a rare facsimile of the first edition, 1577, of the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* made in 1892, at Venice (of which there were only 250 copies) ; and similarly of the first edition of the *Quaestio* of 1508, of which only 250 copies were made in 1905. Some of the *Canzoniere* poems are included in the 1477 edition of the *Commedia*, which is in the Library ; and other early editions of these are in a 1527 edition of *Sonetti e canzoni di diversi autori toscani*, and in the rare first edition of the *Vita Nuova* in 1576, mentioned above. There are two rare early editions of the *Convito* : the 1529, *l'Amoroso convito di D.* with portrait and woodcuts, by Niccolò di Aristotile detto lo Zoppino, Venice, and the one by Marchio Sessa, Venice, of 1531. There is also an early edition of *I sette*

salmi penitenziali, translated by Abate F. S. Quadrio, in 1752, from an early fifteenth-century text. This eighteenth-century critic is better known for his *Della Storia e della Ragione di ogni poesia*, Bologna, 1739-52, which was a first serious attempt at an encyclopedia of world literature. Among the many de luxe editions of the *Vita Nuova* and *Canzoniere* are those translated and illustrated by D. G. Rossetti, the so-called Preraphaelite editions.

The editio princeps of the *Vita Nuova* : “ *Vita Nuova di D.A. con XV canzoni del medesimo, e la vita di esso Dante scritta da G. Boccaccio*, Firenze, stamperia Bartolomeo Sermartelli ”, is of special interest for it was censured by the Florentine Inquisitor General and all references to the divinity in connection with Beatrice had to be suppressed ; for instance “ gloriosa ”, referring to Beatrice, becomes “ graziosa ” and “ beatitudine ” is changed to “ felicità ” ! Among the very many editions of the *Vita Nuova* the most important are here to be found, from this first edition to the critical edition by M. Barbi in 1921. The following may be mentioned : A. D’Ancona (1872), T. Casini (1890), F. Beck (1896), M. Scherillo and D. Guerri (both 1921), and also the works of such critics as A. D’Ancona, P. Fraticelli, C. Witte, T. Casini, D. G. Rossetti, F. Beck, I. del Lungo, V. Rossi, M. Casella, Ed. Moore, E. Chiorboli, J. E. Shaw and C. Vossler. The greater number of critics come from the last half of last century and the first decades of this, but there are also more modern studies, such as those by C. Williams (1943), C. S. Singleton (1949), and a special subject in E. Beaumont, *The theme of Beatrice in the plays of Claudel*, London, 1954. There are many translations. Of the English versions those of D. G. Rossetti are well known and there are also in the collection translations into French, German, Swedish, Spanish, Hungarian and Japanese.

The *Convito* is no less well served. The edition of 1827 is included by Pogliani, Milan, edited by Marchese Gian Giacomo Trivulzio, Vincenzo Monti and Gian Antonio Maggi, and is important for its text. Also the Paduan edition of the same year (della Minerva) with a study by P. Mazzucchelli, entitled *Luoghi degli autori citati da Dante nel Convivio*, most important for the

study of Dante's culture and thought. Interesting for the text are also : *Il convito di Dante Alighieri, riprodotto in fototipia*, by F. Schneider, Rome, 1832, and the edition of G. B. Giuliani, Florence, in 1874, dedicated to C. Witte ; the latter was added by the Crusca to its list of texts, serving as a basis for the dictionary, in the following year. But the final word on the text is, however, not here. This is the edition of Busnelli and Vandelli, 1934, based on the critical edition of 1921, with many corrections and emendations. This has been brought further up to date in a recent edition (1954). Critics engaged in various matters in connection with the *Convivio* are to be found here, as for example, those who studied the text and chronology, R. Fornaciari, N. Angeletti, P. Venturi ; those concerned with Dante's thought and culture, as Ed. Moore in *Dante Studies*, Oxford, 1896, in which is a study of Scripture and classical authors in Dante ; Paget Toynbee's *Dante Studies and Researches*, London, 1902, which are fundamental ; as also later works such as those by G. Zuccante (1905), J. E. Shaw (1938) ; and contemporary critics, such as B. Nardi and E. Gilson. Of the translations to be found here, that of W. M. Rossetti (1910) is one of the most interesting.

The *Monarchia* is represented by fewer editions. There is the interesting one of 1853, with C. Balbo's *Ragionamenti sulla Monarchia*, propounding his neo-guelph programme for the independence of Italy ; one by C. Witte in 1874 ; Ed. Moore's of 1894 ; the critical edition of 1921 ; and a later one, in Rome, 1930, making use of an unpublished Vatican text. But the two latest editions, A. C. Volpe, Modena, 1946, and G. Vinay, Florence, 1950, are not in the collection. There is, however, the useful translation into Italian by N. Vianello, Genova, 1921. Of the vast literature on the Monarchy and on Dante's political thought, there is a very great deal. The date of the treatise particularly occupied critics of the later 1800s, a large number of whom are included here, as C. Witte, E. G. Parodi, N. Zingarelli, F. Tocco. On Dante's political thought G. Carmignani wrote as long ago as 1865, and his work is still of interest. Following him came studies by A. D'Ancona, P. Villari, C. Cipolla, A. Pisani. The subject seems to have come

particularly to the fore in 1921, when there appeared: C. Foligno's study in the *Essays in Commemoration*, Oxford; A. Bonella y San Martin *Dante y su tratado de Monarchia*, Madrid; S. Scandura, *Il de Monarchia di Dante e i suoi tempi*; S. Vento, *La filosofia politica di Dante nel De Monarchia*; and, most important, A. Solmi, *Il pensiero politico di Dante*, 1922, in *Studi su Dante*. There are many later works, including that of F. Ercole, *Il pensiero politico di Dante*, 1927-8, and, more recently, A. P. D'Entrèves, *Dante as Political Thinker*, 1952. The works of B. Nardi and E. Gilson must also be remembered in this context, and the recent N. Matteini, *Il più antico oppositore politico di Dante*, 1958, a study on Fra Guido da Rimini, who in his treatise spoke of Dante's "dottrina pestifera". There are English translations of the treatise in the Library, notably those of Dean Church and P. H. Wicksteed, and there are also German versions and one Hungarian.

The editio princeps of the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* in the Library in the facsimile form mentioned above (1892), was taken from a manuscript at Grenoble; and from this was made the Trivulziana copy which served G. G. Trissino for his Italian translation in Vicenza, 1529, the appearance of which revived the controversy regarding the language problem. A copy of Trissino's translation is in the Library in the anthology *Degli autori del ben parlare per secolari e religiosi*, vol. I, 1643. The scholar who has most occupied himself with problems concerning this work is P. Rajna, whose critical edition was published in 1896, and again, with emendations in 1897. This was used, with a few alterations, for the critical edition of 1921, which is also in the Library. Another item of interest to be found is: 1868, *Della volgare eloquenza di Dante Alighieri tradotta da G. G. Trissino 1529, con una lettera di A. Manzoni e una di Gino Capponi*, a letter from Manzoni to the Minister of Education R. Bonghi, giving his views regarding Florentine speech as being most suitable as the Italian literary language. Another interesting edition is that of 1917, by L. Bertalot, *Dante Alighieri De Vulgari Eloquentia*, (Friedrichsdorf, apud Francofurtum ad Main, recensuit Luodovicus Bertalot), the result of the discovery of a new manuscript in the State Library at Berlin.

In addition to the studies of Rajna, those of F. d'Ovidio, B. Nardi and P. Toynbee are particularly important ; all, again, are in the Library.

The *Eclogues* are best studied in the critical text by P. H. Wicksteed and E. G. Gardner in *Dante and Giovanni del Virgilio* which includes an edition of the text, with commentary and a translation into English, published in London, 1902. The Library also has the standard work by G. Albin, *Dantis Eclogae, Testo con versione*, Florence, 1903, and a later Latin-Italian edition by G. Cortese in 1920. The *Letters* have been particularly a subject of study by Paget Toynbee, whose edition of 1920 with text, notes and translation is in the Library, as is also the critical text of 1921 by A. Monti, Milan. The *Quaestio* in the 1905 facsimile edition of the editio princeps of 1508, of which the Library has two copies, has an historical introduction by G. Boffito and a scientific one by O. Zanetti-Bianco, and the Latin text is accompanied by versions in five languages : Italian, French, Spanish, English and German. The Library also has the 1907 edition, by V. Biagi, Florence, with a full bibliography of studies on this treatise and a critical note on its authenticity. Studies by G. L. Passerini (1891), V. Russo (1901) and Toynbee (1918) are also here, and, although what is generally taken as the best edition, that of F. Angeletti, of 1932, is not, the most important work of this writer on scientific subjects connected with Dante is present : *Su Dante e l'Astronomia*, Roma, 1921. In the Library are also his studies on stars in the *Purgatory* and on date deduced by astronomical observation. The treatise has been translated into English notably by C. H. Bromley (1897), P. H. Wicksteed (1904), and by C. L. Shadwell (1909).¹

II

General Bibliography, Periodicals, Handbooks, Dictionaries

The student of Dante will find that usually his needs are handsomely supplied. There being no one general Dante biblio-

¹ For studies on scientific subjects relating to Dante, see Ed. Moore, *Studies*, 1905, which includes essays on Dante and astronomy, time sequences in the *Divina Commedia* and the geography of Dante. Also M. A. Orr, *Dante and the Mediaeval Astronomers*, 1913. All these are in the Library.

graphy, the following are usually consulted. For the period before the appearance of periodicals devoted to Dante study (that is, before the *Alighieri* in 1889): P. Colomb de Batines, *Bibliografia dantesca*, Prato, 1845-6, with the index, 1883, by A. Bacchi della Lega, and in 1888 G. Biagi's additions and corrections; also G. Ferrazzi, *Manuale dantesco*, 1865-77. These are all in the collection. In 1889 the *Alighieri* marks the beginning of the periodicals (where further bibliographical data must be sought). It flourished in Verona-Venezia from 1889-93, and was then followed by the *Giornale dantesco*, edited by G. L. Passerini from 1893-1915; the relevant indices are by G. Boggito, Florence, 1916. After a brief break of two years, probably due to difficult conditions during the first World War, it continued as *Il Nuovo Giornale dantesco*, edited by L. Pietrobono, from 1917-21; it then became the *Giornale dantesco* down to the year 1943. Meanwhile the *Buletino della Società dantesca italiana* was published in Florence from 1890 to 1921, in which year the new *Studi danteschi*, directed by M. Barbi, took its place. Another vast bibliographical work should also be consulted: T. Wesley Koch's *The Catalogue of the Dante Collection presented by W. Fiske to the Cornell University Library, Ithaca-New York*, 1898-1900, with M. Fowler's *Additions*, 1898-1920. For editions of Dante's works and for translations there is G. Mambelli, *Gli annali delle edizioni dantesche*, 1931. All the above mentioned are to be found in the Library, with many other necessary bibliographical works.¹ To avoid the tediousness of simply making lists, it may be stated that with the exception of one or two lacunae, the Library has everything essential in the way of bibliographical collections. The lacunae appear in the 1930s, when there are some gaps in the D. Evola bibliographies, and towards the end of that decade, when, with the rumours of World War II, the *Studi danteschi*, the French *Revue des études italiennes*, and the German *Deutsche Dante Jahrbuch* ceased, and have not been resumed since.² But Dante

¹ By D. Evola, H. Wieruszowski, L. Pietrobono, and, for more recent years, A. Vallone.

² Efforts are being made to complete the *Lectura Dantis* series, of which the Library has all of the first quarter of a century, i.e. 1900-1925, and many numbers

studies are all-embracing and often find hospitality in the pages of periodicals other than those exclusively devoted to our Poet. There are some thirty periodicals in the Library (which has a very full collection) which deal, more or less frequently, with Dante studies, those most involved being the *Giornale Storico della letteratura italiana*, *Italian Studies*, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, *Medium Aevum*, *Mediaeval Studies*, *Nuova antologia*, *Speculum*, and the *Year's Work in Modern Language Studies*, which latter always has a section on Dante.

Essential handbooks, dictionaries and concordances are all at hand. The early G. Poletto, *Dizionario dantesco* (with special reference to St. Thomas), Siena, 1885-92, vols. 1 and 2, and A. Fiammazzo, vol. III, 1905, are here, but the English student will use Paget Toynbee's *A Dictionary of proper names and notable matters in the works of Dante*, Oxford, 1898, or the *Concise dictionary* by Toynbee, Oxford, 1941. There is also an index of names and notable matters in the works of Dante, compiled by M. Casella in 1921 for the centenary edition of the complete works. American scholars have been mostly responsible for the concordances. All are to be found here: concordance of the *Divine Comedy* by E. A. Fay, Boston, 1888; the *Concordanza delle opere italiane in prosa e del canzoniere di Dante* by E. S. Sheldon & A. C. White, Oxford, 1905; the *D. A. Operum latinorum Concordantiae*, by E. K. Rand & E. H. Wilkins & A. C. White, Oxford, 1912; and the more recent *Supplementary concordance to the Minor Italian Works of Dante*, by L. H. Gordon, 1936, Harvard U.P.; while G. Falorsi's *Le concordanze dantesche, Introduzione analittica a un commento sintetico della D.C.* Florence, 1920, is also included. Among the handbooks and monographs most to be recommended (all of which are here) are those of G. Agnelli, *Topocronografia del viaggio dantesco*, 1891; Ed. Moore, *Studies in Dante*, 1896; G. A. Scartazzini, *Dantologia*, 1906; P. Toynbee, *Dante, his life and work*, 1910; H. Hauvette, *Dante, Introduction à l'étude de la D.C.*, 1912; N. Zingarelli, *I tempi, la vita e le opere di Dante*, 1899-1903, and U. Cosmo, *Guida a Dante* (in translation, by D. Moore, 1950).

Biography. The sources: the early commentaries are all available,¹ as are also the chronicle of Villani and the *Vita* and *Compendio* of Boccaccio, in Boccaccio *Il commento alla Divina Commedia e gli altri scritti intorno a Dante*, D. Guerri, 1918; also G. L. Passerini, *Le vite di D. scritte da G. & F. Villani . . . da G. Boccaccio, L. Aretino e G. Manetti*, 1918; and the essential Ed. Moore, *Dante and his early biographers*, 1890. But the later work of R. Piattoli (1950), *Codice diplomatico dantesco* is missing. This is a useful work which gathers together all the legal documents concerning Dante and his family from 1189 to 1371 and now forms an indispensable reference for further study. However, the literature in the library on various aspects of Dante's life is vast. It includes Dante scholars, such as (in Italy) F. Torracca, A. D'Ancona, O. Bacci, M. Barbi, R. Fraticelli, Gallaratti-Scotti, M. Scherillo, I. del Lungo, C. Ricci, N. Zingarelli, F. de Sanctis, and G. L. Passerini; (in England) Dantists such as Ed. Moore, E. H. Plumptre, P. H. Wicksteed, P. Toynbee and A. J. Butler; (in France) F. G. Bergmann and P. Gauthiez; and (in Germany) A. Bassermann, F. X. Kraus, C. Falk and F. Schneider. Almost any aspect of the subject may be here studied. It should be noted that some new information about Dante's life, particularly as regards his wanderings, came to light in 1921 in the many commemorative studies published by the various cities eager to emphasize their connections and claims to kinship with the great poet. Most of these studies are in the Library. We may select: *Dante e Verona*, 1921, *Dante e Siena*, 1921, *Dante e Lucca*, 1922, and *Dante e Arezzo*, 1922. The earliest studies of Dante's exile by A. Bassermann, *Orme di Dante in Italia*, 1902, and C. Ricci's *l' Ultimo rifugio*, 1921, are in the collection; but not the later C. Pedrazzini, *Le peregrinazioni di Dante*, 1938, nor U. Cosmo, *La vita di Dante*, 1934.

Commedia. So that we may not lose our way in the "selva oscura" of the vast literature on the *Divina Commedia*, only one or two subjects will be briefly considered, in an attempt to

¹ See G. Biagi, *La D.C. nella figurazione artistica e nel secolare commento*, 1924-7.

indicate some aspects of the usefulness of the collection. For instance, there is ample material for a study of the sources of the poem. We may select, for the medieval visions and legends : P. Villari, *Antiche leggende e tradizioni che illustrano la D.C.*, 1865 ; works by A. D' Ancona, V. Capetti and F. Torraca ; and the *Visio Alberici* in the della Minerva, Padua, edition of the poem in 1822. For Arabic sources, M. Asin Palacios, *La escatologia musulmana en la Divina Comedia*, 1919, with the reply to that work by G. Gabrieli, and writings by E. G. Parodi and the recent E. Cerulli, *Il libro della scala e la questione delle fonti arabe-spagnuole*, 1949. For biblical sources : Ed. Moore in *Studies in Dante* and also the work by C. Cavedoni, *Raffronti tra gli autori biblici e sacri e la D.C.*, 1896. For the classical world Ed. Moore, op. cit. and works by M. Scherillo, D. Comparetti, and the recent P. Renucci, *Dante, Disciple et Juge du Monde Greco-Latin*, 1954. For the mystics : works by F. X. Kraus, Edmund Gardner and the recent A. Masseron, *Dante et St. Bernard*, 1953, are all here, while C. Vossler's *La D.C. studiata nella sua genesi e interpretata*, 1927, with its examination of various sources emphasizes the vastness of Dante's world. Of the enormous amount of literature on the allegory and on the moral system of Dante's poem with which it is closely linked all the important authors are here represented, from the fundamental works by Edward Moore and G. Busnelli to the esoteric interpretations of G. Pascoli, L. Valli and Flamini, as well as works by B. Nardi, E. Gilson and the recent A. Pézard, *Dante sous le pluie de feu*, 1950. Poetry in the *Divina Commedia*, particularly since B. Croce's *La poesia di Dante*, 1921, in which he distinguished between Dante the theologian and moralist and Dante the poet, and which gave rise to discussion of the problem of the relationship between poetry and structure in the *Commedia*, may be studied in the work of L. Russo, while two interesting recent studies on the poetry may be quoted : Y. Batard, *Dante, Minerve, Apollon : les images dans la Divine Comédie*, 1952, and S. Ralphs, *Eterno Spiro, a Study of the Nature of Dante's Paradise*, 1959, the latter an example of the recent studies which endeavour to define more closely the poetic tone of the third *cantica* and establish the relationship between learning and poetry.

Dante's fortunes, both in Italy and abroad, may well be followed here. Rare works such as V. Borghini's defence of Dante against Bembo in the sixteenth century, the *Difesa di Dante* by Jacopo Mazzoni (1573) and the "Lecture" of B. Varchi and G. Gelli, of the same century are here. Also the works of the main writers concerned in the Dante controversy in the *settecento*, with such fundamental studies as E. Cavallari, *La fortuna di Dante nel trecento*, 1921; V. Rossi, *La fortuna di Dante nel tre e nel quattrocento*, in *Saggio e discorsi*; M. Barbi, *Della fortuna di Dante nel secolo XVI*; A. Farinelli, *Dante in Spagna, Francia, Inghilterra, Germania*, 1922; T. Ostermann, *Dante in Deutschland*, 1929; P. Toynbee's *Dante in English Literature from Chaucer to Cary*, 1909, and *Britain's Tribute to Dante*, 1921. It is also interesting to note the appeal of Dante to another civilisation than ours in the *Bibliografia dantesca giapponese*, by Jukichi Oga, Osaka (translated, Florence, 1930).

Some particular features of the collection remain to be noted. Anniversary celebrations in connection with Dante centenaries are well documented in numerous pamphlets, offprints, reports of special events and in catalogues of exhibitions, as are also the activities of various Dante Societies. The first to be founded—the Deutsche Dante-Gesellschaft in Dresden in 1865—was followed in 1876 by the Oxford Dante Society and, in 1886, by the Cambridge (Mass.) Dante Society. The first in Italy came into being in Florence in 1888, as the Società dantesca italiana, to be followed by the Dante Alighieri in 1899, the London Dante Society in 1904 and the Manchester Dante Society in 1906. Periodicals, reports and papers of all these Societies are in the collection, though, as has been noted, these are not in every case complete. Attention might also be drawn to the vast amount of knowledge that may be gleaned on numerous particular topics connected with Dante that are represented in the Library, such as monuments to Dante, dramatic representation of episodes in his poem, portraits, pictorial illustration, art, education, poems on Dante, ethics, psychical science, religion, law, Dante and Sardinia, and many more. The majority of the authors of these articles fall between the two centenaries, i.e. from 1865 to 1921.

It will now be evident that the Dante Collection—apart from the wealth of early printed books and from some of the most interesting recent studies of particular problems,—is especially rich in *Danteana* of the last quarter of last century and of the first thirty years or so of this. But this was the hey-day of Dante studies. In its bibliography, a recent handbook¹ notes that there are certain collections of studies by Dante specialists, not particularly modern, which, nevertheless have gained such a place of first importance for their solution of principal problems of Dante scholarship, that they cannot be neglected by the Dante scholar of today. Among these may be noted : F. De Sanctis, *Saggi danteschi* ; M. Barbi, *Problemi di critica dantesca* . . . ; T. Casini, *Scritti danteschi* ; C. Cipolla, *Gli studi danteschi* ; A. D'Ancona, *Scritti danteschi* ; F. D'Ovidio, *Studi sulla Divina Commedia* ; G. Federzoni, *Studi e diporti danteschi* ; R. Fornaciari *Studi su Dante* ; F. Torraca, *Studi danteschi* ; and V. Rossi, *Scritti di critica letteraria*. All these Dante scholars are well represented in the Library and their names have occurred again and again in this survey of the Library's fine Dante collection.

¹ P. Renucci, *Dante* (Paris, 1958), p. 234.

GOTHIA AND ROMANIA¹

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IN his more relaxed moments, the Visigothic chieftain Athaulf used to say that he had had the idea to obliterate the "nomen Romanum" and to substitute a Gothic state, with himself as its Caesar Augustus; which was as much as to say—"ut vulgariter loquar" in Orosius' words—that *Gothia* should succeed *Romania*. However, long experience had taught him that his Goths were too barbarous ever to live under law; and since, without law, you cannot have a state, he had decided to leave things as they were and to support the "nomen Romanum" with Gothic arms.² What I would like to do is to see, in the light of this curious jest, whether any of Athaulf's successors as kings of Toulouse came within measurable distance of taking seriously that *Gothia* which Athaulf abandoned; for, like many jests, it had something behind it.

It is easy to connect Athaulf's decision in favour of *Romania* with his marriage with Galla Placidia,³ though Orosius does not put the matter quite in this way. He merely says that she helped him—"ad omnia bonarum ordinationum opera persuasu et consilio temperatus"; at most, helped him to see what long experience of his own people's limitations already pointed to.

¹ A lecture delivered in the Library series of public lectures. I wish to thank Professor E. A. Thompson, Professor R. E. Keller and Dr. Arnold Ehrhardt for help in its preparation, and friends in Oxford for stimulating me to think again about what I had written.

² Orosius, *Hist.* vii. 43.

³ Ludwig Schmidt, *Geschichte der deutschen Stämme bis zum Ausgang der Völkerwanderung: die Ostgermanen* (2nd. edn., 1941), p. 457; J. B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire* (1923), i. 197; F. Lot, C. Pfister and F. L. Ganshof, *Les Destinées de l'Empire en Occident* (1940), p. 45; and P. Courcelle, *Histoire littéraire des grandes invasions germaniques* (1948), p. 69, who goes so far as to connect the remark with an alleged design of Athaulf's that Theodosius, his son by Galla Placidia, should one day become emperor. But if Theodosius had lived, and had become emperor, this need have had no effect on the status of the Visigoths.

I think we must take the story as it stands. Athaulf knew that he could not subvert Roman authority, even though he entered Gaul without imperial sanction: he could not turn *Romania* into *Gothia*. Equally, he is not reported to have envisaged the absorption of *Gothia* into *Romania*. The Goths were to act, if Orosius is right, as *Romania*'s shield, whether in Gaul or in Spain. In fact, a kingdom based on Toulouse was not the end of Athaulf's ambition. His successor, Wallia, reluctantly abandoned an attempt to cross from Spain to Africa, and returned to Gaul to negotiate with the patrician Constantius because he could not help it. The most solid achievements of Euric were to be in Spain, not Gaul. This following in the path of the Vandals, not always with hostile intent, is a recurrent theme of Visigothic history for the entire century of their residence in Gaul; the Visigoths were both attracted to and frightened by them. They were not so very distantly related and had much in common. Despite their long contact with the Empire, I do not think that the Visigoths had been any more romanized than had the Vandals, though they may have been tamer. They were homeless cultivators, roaming armed and in search of food, and denied the outlet to Africa which had first been sought through Italy by their leader, Alaric. Two years later, they were brought back from Spain to Gaul in a hurry, to be allotted a settlement-area on the Atlantic seaboard and a guarantee of 600,000 measures of grain. Their need for land and food was met; though the prospect of Spain was still there to haunt them. But what was gained by the Romans, with whom the initiative clearly lay? For it was they who would have drawn up the terms of the subsequent *foedus*.¹

The settlement of upwards of 100,000 Goths (men, women and children) upon Roman land and at the expense of landlords' rents would be unwelcome, unless there was some threat that the movement of the Goths might counter.² One such threat

¹ Prosper, *Chron.* s.a. 419 and Hydatius, *Chron.*, chap. 69 provide some facts about the *foedus*, and others may be inferred from subsequent events; but its terms and their implementation are not clear in detail.

² In what follows I am heavily indebted to Professor E. A. Thompson, and notably to his article "The settlement of the barbarians in southern Gaul",

may have been the power of the Goths themselves in Spain; this has been inferred from the report of Hydatius;¹ the Romans believed them safer in Gaul than in Spain; in Gaul they could at least be stopped from moving about. They may also, once settled, have been more useful there. Professor Thompson believes that the Roman authorities really wished to take precautionary measures against the Gallic Bacaudae. He argues that the senatorial estates taken over by the Goths were not tucked away upon some remote frontier but lay deep in the heart of Aquitaine; in other words, they lay among, and not in front of, the lands the Goths were meant to defend. Following good Roman practice, the Goths were being entrusted with the defence of their own interests. Just how far we know about this settlement I shall consider shortly; but Thompson's idea has its attractions. A principal seat of Bacaudic activity lay immediately north of the original area of Visigothic settlement—namely, in the region of the Loire.² The Aquitanian senators might not anticipate a frontal attack, but the danger of disaffection spreading among their own peasantry was something more than academic. The enslavement of masters by their own slaves in open revolt

Journal of Roman Studies, vol. xli (1956). Though he goes further than I would in detecting a Bacaudic threat behind the Germanic settlements, his work still marks a new departure in our understanding of the subject.

¹ By L. Schmidt, *op.cit.* p. 461; but Hydatius' words are "ad Gallias revocati sedes in Aquitanica a Tolosa usque ad Oceanum acceperunt".

² We may look upon these Bacaudae as the entire peasant population of western Gaul in a state of chronic revolt, or as such parts of the Armorican population as were, at any one time, in active revolt. In my view, Armoricans are one thing and Bacaudae another, and I would distinguish Bacaudic activities from the endemic banditry from which the Later Empire suffered. Nor can I think that the *Tractus Armoricanus* was a vast fifth-column area that worked in collaboration with the barbarians to overthrow Roman rule in Gaul. I do not distrust Jordanes' statement (*Getica*, xxxvi. 191) that Armoricans helped Aetius to save Gaul from the Huns, or Sidonius' recollection that they had been roused to battle by his father-in-law, Avitus (*Carmina*, vii. 547). While accepting a good deal of Thompson's case against the landlords (see also his *History of Attila and the Huns*, 1948, *passim*), I believe he overlooks the grim truth that extortion and corruption are often the price of protection, and that many are willing to pay that price. Authority may gain in attraction where the possibility of its withdrawal has once been contemplated. For all his tyranny, Aetius represented in Gaul, and not only to senators, an active ideal of authority, of *imperium*, such as we can still see operative in Orosius, Ambrosiaster and the *Actus Sylvestri*.

was not unknown.¹ The entry in the *Chronica Gallica* for the year 435 is explicit: "Gallia ulterior Tibattonem principem rebellionis secuta a Romana societate discessit, a quo tracto initio omnia paene Galliarum servitia in Bacaudam conspiravere."

A local rising, that is, under a rebel leader named Tibatto wins the sympathy of a large part of the slave-population of Gaul.² This is not very surprising and perhaps not as alarming as it sounds. But these risings do seem to coincide with the Visigothic settlement of Gaul. If the Bacaudae and the Visigoths ever came to blows, we do not know of it, though Constantius tells us that Goar's Alans, settled near Orleans, did take the field against the Bacaudae.³ Perhaps the Bacaudae and their sympathizers were frightened by the presence of the Goths into leaving the Aquitanian landlords in peace. But this is conjecture. We do not know why the Visigoths were settled in Aquitaine, any more than we know why the Burgundians were admitted to Savoy by Aetius in 443. Indeed, Savoy does not itself seem to have been subject to any social disturbance at the time of settlement, though it had once been so. It does not follow that the landowners of Savoy were being protected against social unrest within their own borders. If the Alamans were too far away from Savoy to constitute an immediate threat, it must still be allowed that as soon as they did move into Alsace in 455 the senators of Lyons at once permitted an extension of Burgundian territory in that direction, to counter the danger. So that the Burgundians, though settled on the land, were still expected to take the field and to meet an external threat. The same may have been true of the Visigoths, whose first assignment in the Prefecture of the Gauls had, after all, been to fight not Bacaudae but Vandals in the name of the Empire.

Another approach is to see the Visigothic *foedus* as a measure designed to keep Saxon and Frankish sea-pirates at bay. There is no evidence of any relevant operations of Saxon pirates in the

¹ Rutilius Namatianus, *De Reditu Suo*, i. 216.

² Thompson appears to translate "conspiravere" when he writes "Soon after he rose, [Tibatto] was joined by practically every slave in Gaul" (*History of Attila*, p. 69). This is modified to "conspired with" in *J.R.S.* xlv. 73, n. 43; but even this seems to be going too far.

³ Constantius, *Vita Germani*, 28, 40.

first half of the fifth century, but there were Saxons in the estuary of the Loire in the sixties;¹ and in or about 480 Sidonius writes to Namatius that news has just come of his weighing anchor and being on patrol along the Atlantic coast, on the lookout for the curved ships of the Saxon *archipiratas*. He goes on to beg his friend to have a care, for the Saxons are skilful and daring, and think nothing of rough seas and a dangerous coast: "si sequatur intercipit, si fugiat evadit."² The danger is sufficiently real, and fits the well-authenticated background of more general Roman preparations to meet pirates along the entire length of the *Litus Saxonicum*. This was a planned defence of a coast, of harbours and of rivers—notably the Garonne and the Dordogne with their tributaries, and to some extent the Charente also. Should not the Visigothic settlements be seen in terms of the defence of properties against attack from the rivers? Would not this equally well account for their dispersal over the richer properties? Defence against the Bacaudae can be imagined as rather differently deployed; but defence against tip-and-run raiding from the estuaries can hardly be envisaged in any other way. When Rutilius tells us that his kinsman Exuperantius has been restoring law and order in Armorica, he refers specifically to "Armoricas oras."³ The coastline was claiming his attention, not the huge inland area of the *Tractus*, two of the five provinces of which (*Aquitania* I and *Lugdunensis* IV) had no coastline at all.⁴ In fact, however, we do not have to choose between Saxons and Bacaudae. The Romans' chief gain may have been neither more nor less than the drawing-off of the principal Goths from Spain and their pinning-down in a manageable area of Gaul that was probably overdue for a little rough treatment. If, in addition, there was a danger against which the Goths could defend Gallo-Roman interests, this cannot be identified; nor can we be sure how they were to defend them, since we cannot tell whether the Visigoths were settled in

¹ Gregory of Tours, *Hist.* ii. 18.

² *Epist.* viii, 6, 13–17. The story in the *Vita* of St. Vivian of Saintonges (*M.G.H., Script. Rer. Mero.*, iii. 98) seems to be an echo of this.

³ *De Reditu Suo*, i. 213–16.

⁴ *Notitia Dignitatum*, Occ. XXXVII.

dense masses or were uniformly spread out over the countryside. Either way, they left little enough trace in the soil or in toponymy when their time came to go.

In Aquitaine, place-names terminating once in *-ingos* and now in *-ens* can hardly be taken as an undifferentiated class, as Gamillscheg¹ and others have taken them, and referred to Gothic occupation alone. Virtually no such place-names occur in heavily gothicized Septimania and Spain, and out of a total of some 300 in Aquitaine, only twenty-nine contain a demonstrably Gothic root; that is, are associated with names as Gothic as Andila, Mundila, Wulfila, Swinthila, and Thrasila. The rest are almost all West Germanic, with Frankish and Alamannic predominating. Furthermore, they belong to those parts of Aquitaine conquered by Euric, not by Athaulf, and thus rather briefly occupied. Place-name study does not seem to reveal overwhelming Germanic (let alone Visigothic) settlement among the Gallo-Roman *villae* of the Aquitanian river-basins; it points to a few, and to a few also on the fringes of the forested areas, where the Goths in particular could indulge their love of hunting and of the breeding of horses. Athaulf was assassinated while attending to his own horses. If we take into account all Germanic forms of place-names, they are few and far between in relation to the total toponymy of Aquitaine. We can infer from them nothing whatever as to numbers. We do not really know how many Goths entered Gaul with Athaulf (100,000 is a guess), or whether they increased or diminished in the years between Athaulf and Euric, or even whether by Goths we should mean Goths only or assorted camp-followers as well.² However, these place-names in Aquitaine with their West Germanic roots receive a little elucidation in written sources. Gregory of Tours

¹ *Romania Germanica*, i. 330 ff. Cf. M. Broëns, "Le Peuplement germanique de la Gaule entre la Méditerranée et l'Océan", *Annales du Midi*, lxxviii, 1956, whose researches I summarize here, and the same author's "Anthroponymie Germanique du VI^e au XII^e siècle dans le pays soumis au rayonnement de Toulouse", *Revue Internationale d'Onomastique*, October 1955.

² W. Reinhart, "Germanische Reichsgründungen auf der Iberischen Halbinsel", *Germanen Erbe* 1942, fasc. 3 and 4, has argued that many lowly cultivators would have been left behind in Aquitaine by the fleeing Goths. But re we to count these as Goths?

is silent here, but Isidore says that, after the battle of Vouillé, the *Regnum Tolosanum* was destroyed, "occupantibus Francis".¹ A later chronicler adds, in reference to Clovis: "in Santonico vel Burdigalense Francos praecepit manere";² and a second chronicler, after the tale of destruction: "electos milites atque fortissimos, cum parvulis atque mulieribus, ad pervasas civitates custodiendas et ad reprimendam Gothorum saevitiam dereliquit"³ Do not these three report some memory of a permanent Frankish occupation, military and civil, of the *civitates* abandoned by the Goths? The temporary recovery of part of Aquitaine by the Goths in 510 shows the reason for these Frankish precautions. Reinforcement of the West Germanic settlements—Frankish and other—must account for the surprising fact that in 542, the kings Childebert and Chlotar led a kind of colonizing movement from Aquitaine into Spain, and ultimately to Lusitania.⁴ What is more, the picture suggested by these writers and by place-name study is the picture presented by archaeology. Gothic cemeteries of the fifth century in Aquitaine are hard to distinguish and Gothic grave-goods still, after years of work, hard to interpret. There are no Germanic "Reihengräber", as in the north-east. But this much may be said: the large silver rivetted fibulae characteristic of Gothic graves in fifth-century Spain are nowhere to be found in Aquitaine, except at Herpes, most notoriously complex of sites; and even the bronze fibulae common in sixth-century Septimania are, outside, confined to regions immediately bordering Septimania. Hispano-Gothic buckles of the sixth and seventh centuries are unknown outside Gothic territories of that period. On the other hand, the grave-goods of the Aquitanian cemeteries that have been called Visigothic—there are some eighty of them—yield arms, scramasaxes, franciscas and vases that are highly characteristic of Frankish grave-goods of the early sixth century but not in the least of recognizably

¹ *Historia Gothorum*, M.G.H., *Chron. Min.* ii. 282.

² *Liber Historiae Francorum*, chap. 17 (M.G.H., *S.R.M.* ii. 270).

³ Roric, *Gesta Francorum*, *Patrologia Latina* 139, col. 614. The work of Roric, who wrote in the eleventh century, is treated with more scepticism than it has been proved to deserve. It preserves curious points of detail that merit attention.

⁴ Cf. Isidore, loc. cit. p. 284 and the case argued by Bröens.

Gothic grave-goods.¹ I conclude that, making every allowance, place-names, grave-goods and written testimony do not yield any clear picture of a Visigothic settlement of southern Gaul, excluding Septimania. They suggest to me that military occupation was one thing, and settlement another. Perhaps many warriors of the original settlement may have been kept in cantonments in or around the principal cities surrendered to the Goths, and have drawn rents from, without taking up residence on, the estates allotted for their upkeep.² This is particularly suggested by the case of Toulouse, their capital. The court of the Visigothic kings found its normal home there, and the Roman notaries and other civil officials for whom they had a use retained offices and perhaps schools there, much as was later to happen in Lombardic Pavia.³ But the presence of a few notaries and other Romans anxious to be at the centre of things will not explain why, perhaps alone of Gallo-Roman cities, the walled enceinte of Toulouse expanded in the course of the fifth century. Unless we take account of the need of six successive Visigothic kings to have extensive followings quartered within the city walls, we shall be hard put to it to explain this expansion of a Roman city that hitherto had been of no special commercial or

¹ Cf. E. Salin, *La civilisation mérovingienne*, i. esp. pp. 387-406, and E. A. Thompson in *Past and Present*, xiv. (Nov. 1958), 25, n. 40. A Gothic cemetery outside Aquitaine that has been properly investigated is that of Estagel (Pyrénées Orientales), though even here, according to R. Lantier, it is hard to tell Goths from autochthonous tribesmen (*Gallia*, vol. i, 1942, and in the *comptes-rendus* of the *Académie des Inscriptions*, 1947 and 1948).

² Plainly some Goths lived on their estates or it would have been unnecessary for their kings to make arrangements about a common policy for clearings with the Romans. Cf. *Lex. Vis.* X, 1, 9 ("De silvis inter Gotum et Romanum indivisis relictis"). But if most of them did, and in their winter-quarters had lived so dispersed among Romans as not to affect placenames, one would still expect to find their graves and characteristic grave-goods. It is unclear to me what conclusions as to settlements Courcelle would draw from his comment "on s'aperçut très vite qu'il s'agissait d'un établissement définitif, car ces fédérés, au lieu de vivre de l'annone, furent cantonnés à la campagne; les chefs nourrirent eux-mêmes leurs hommes sur la portion de domaine qui leur avait été attribuée" (*Les Grandes Invasions*, p. 118). See also F. Lot, "Du régime de l'hospitalité", *Revue belge de philol. et d'hist.*, vol. vii (1928).

³ It may be noted that the *commonitorium* of the *Lex Romana Visigothorum* is dated "1111 non. Feb. an. XXII Alarici regis Tolosae" (*M.G.H., Leges*, p. 466).

strategic importance.¹ The *trustis* or *comitatus* of a powerful barbarian chieftain may have been rather more of an army than a bodyguard. Quartering on a smaller scale, calling for no extension of walls, may have been the fate of other cities at one time or another in Visigothic hands, such as Bordeaux, Tours, Narbonne, Arles, Clermont, Carcassonne, and, further south, Barcelona and Lisbon.² The requirements of the original *foedus* could have been satisfied in this manner. Hardly a campaigning season in the century can have passed without major Gothic forces being engaged on their proper federate occasions in Spain or Gaul, and, later, as hostile armies pushing forward the Gothic frontiers, or pushing back the Gothic enemies, to the Loire and the Rhône; and it is unnecessary to suppose that warriors would have found winter-quarters in the countryside more congenial than the halls of kings. What I am suggesting is, that, as a people, the Goths in Gaul may never have settled in the sense in which the Franks were to settle; that they may neither have wished to nor been required to. We need not picture every Gallo-Roman *villa* rendered noisome to its inhabitants by the sight and smell of Goths plastering rancid butter on their hair.

This approach to the settlements seems to make sense of what little is known for certain of Gothic and Roman administration in fifth-century Gaul,³ and casts some light on what Athaulf meant: the Goths were really only fit for a supporting rôle in *Romania*. This is precisely what the *foedus* recognized. It was a political manoeuvre of some skill, calling for a large measure of

¹ Cf. E. Delaruelle, "Toulouse capitale wisigothique et son rempart", *Annales du Midi*, vol. lxxvii (1955).

² Schmidt, *Ostgermanen*, p. 518, asserts that these and other, unnamed, cities were "mit grosseren Garnisonen belegte Festungen". This is likely enough, but he cites no evidence.

³ As summarized by Schmidt, *op. cit.* pp. 502 ff. ("Innere Geschichte"), who, however, makes the common assumption that any matter adverted to in barbarian legislation must have been of common interest and general application. This is no truer than that what was omitted was negligible (e.g. because Euric omitted the *Novellae* of the Emperor Anthemius from his lawbook, or what we have of it, it by no means follows that he rejected them). Far too little attention is paid to the haphazard nature, diversified purpose and fragmentary survival of the *Volkesrechte*.

courage in its principal engineer, the patrician Constantius. If it was the last throw of a desperate man whose class was faced with extinction, no member of that class is recorded to have troubled to say as much. The truth is, that the Gallo-Roman landlords did very reasonably for themselves during the troubles of the fifth century. They somehow weathered the storm with their estates more or less intact; they had neither been expelled by the barbarians nor murdered by their slaves.¹ *Potentes* is no idle description of them; their landed wealth and their interest in the cities enabled them to raise private armies at will, and the barbarians had nothing to teach them about personal retainers or about what the Merovingians later called immunities. The same families continue to dominate the countryside and to fill the public offices, lay and spiritual, in the *civitas*. Some of the greatest of these are well-established in the time of Ausonius, are still there when Sidonius came to write, and have not disappeared in the days of Gregory of Tours.² Doubtless they were very greedy, but doubtless also the lot of the *colonus* would have been infinitely worse without them. After all, Avitacum was not Oblomovka. The question arises whether some of the senators may not have come to see in the Visigothic *rex* a rallying-point in a Gaul deprived of its emperor. If their *Romanitas*, and still more their religion, was offended by paying court to a barbarian war-lord, their patriotism may not have been, more particularly when they recalled that Gothic troops had made it possible for Aetius to withstand the Huns on the Catalaunian Plain. It has even been thought that some of them, like Arvandus and Seronatus, would have wished to see Euric a Gallic emperor in preference to acknowledging a Rome dominated by Ricimer and Byzantium.³ This is another piece of conjecture.

¹ There may be a parallel in the prosperity of certain Roman estates, albeit of humbler folk, in later Vandal Africa, where recent archaeological evidence has shown the continuity of Roman legal institutions of the fifth century and the use of legal formulae that echo those of Visigothic Gaul and Spain (*Tablettes Albertini*, ed. C. Courtois, L. Leschi, C. Perrat and C. Saumagne, 1952, esp. pp. 84 and 175).

² See the excellent study, and in particular the prosopography, of K. F. Stroheker, *Der senatorische Adel im spätantiken Gallien* (1948).

³ Schmidt, *Ostgermanen*, p. 487.

Moreover, it is only one side of the picture. We know that the heirs of Roman civilization in Gaul were to be not the kings of Toulouse but the kings of Paris. This was to come about in part through military conquest; but in part also it was the doing of the Gallo-Roman episcopate. It is worth pausing to consider why the bishops ever found themselves in a position to exercise power so decisive.¹ In the first place, it can be said that they were big men, and that they were called to wrestle with great issues quite independent of the consequences of the collapse of imperial authority.² The problem of how a land of Catholic orthodoxy was to assimilate large groups of Arian *foederati* would naturally seem to be among the greatest of these; but, though they hated Arianism, we do not know that the bishops did much to make assimilation possible; and in the end they found it easier to get rid of their Arian masters. The rule of the bishops, at least by the middle of the fifth century, owes its peculiar power to the fusion of two traditions. The first may be called the missionary tradition that sprang from the impact of St. Martin's ministry in the fourth century. It had been apocalyptic and puritanical, and it cut across the lines of the *civitas*. In a word, it was un-Roman. Further, it was perpetuated in a biography of startling merit. The *Vita Martini* of Sulpicius Severus, with its image of the fearless pastor, glorying in *rusticitas* yet not in the least politically inept, is the foundation-stone of the art of ecclesiastical biography in France. It opens the way to the seven huge volumes of the *Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum* where, however, nothing of the same quality will be found. It is possible to be over-sceptical about the influence of St. Martin on the fifth century.³ I would detect it in more than one funerary inscription that foretells the imminent end of the world in language that is not yet common form.⁴ To it, I would add

¹ General reference may be made to E. Griffe, *La Gaule chrétienne à l'époque romaine*, vol. ii (*L'Église des Gaules au V^e siècle*, pt. 1), 1957.

² I mean, theological issues and issues involving social justice. See the important paper of J. N. L. Myres, "Pelagius and the end of Roman rule in Britain", *Journal of Roman Studies*, 50 (1960).

³ As, for example, is Owen Chadwick, *John Cassian* (1950), pp. 43 ff.

⁴ E.g. E. Le Blant, *Inscriptions Chrétiennes de la Gaule*, p. 334.

the influence of the rather different missionary fervour of the monks of Lérins and of St. Victor's at Marseilles. The outlook of Salvian upon the society he castigated would have been shared by his monastic brethren. The monks that went out to be bishops—Hilary of Arles, Eucher of Lyons, Lupus of Troyes and the like—remained monks, trained to live in obedience to a rule that sorted ill with the pattern of Roman society. Whether they thought Gallic society worth the saving is an open question.¹ Certainly their interests ranged beyond Gaul and ignored the boundaries of peoples. One may recall the revealing aside of Avitus: "peregrinus sacerdos dici non potest, ubi catholica repperiri ecclesia potest."² The influence of such monks transformed the church of Gaul in the fifth century, without, however, transforming Gallic society in the way that they hoped. The newness of this can be sensed in the *Epigramma Paulini*³ and in the anonymous tractate *De Septem Ordinibus Ecclesiae*.⁴ Here was one reason why the civil service lost its best recruits to the service of the church. It lost them also because the church offered the better chance of serving *Romania*; and it is just here that the interesting fusion occurs between the missionary zeal of Tours and Lérins on the one hand, and the old episcopal tradition of service to the *civitas* on the other: it could so easily not have happened. One overlooks the element of the former in the circle of Sidonius Apollinaris, which had its links with the monks. Sidonius clung to a *Romanitas* that was studiously anti-barbarian—Sidonius, whose son was to lead a contingent from the Auvergne to support the Visigoths against Clovis at Vouillé. One ought, in his view, still to look for a career in the imperial civil service, and still pay visits to Rome, "patriam libertatis, in qua unica totius orbis civitate soli

¹ O. Chadwick, *op. cit.* is an up-to-date account of the influence of Lérins upon the Gallo-Roman Church, though I agree with Peter Munz, "John Cassian", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, vol. xi (1960), that Chadwick misjudges the revolutionary social implications of fifth- and sixth-century monasticism in the West.

² *Epist.* 9.

³ *Corp. Script. Eccl. Lat.*, xvi. 503-8. There are some corrections to Schenkl's edition by E. Griffe in *Rev. Augustinienne*, ii, 187-94.

⁴ Cf. P. Grosjean, "Notes d'Hagiographie Celtique", *Analecta Bollandiana*, lxx (1957), 159-64.

barbari et servi peregrinantur."¹ This comes as easily and naturally as Claudian's evocation of Rome (just before Alaric's arrival) in his panegyric *de Sexto Consulatu Honorii*. But Rome, as Sidonius well knew, was also the Rome of the popes; and they, too, were concerned to defend and to profit from *Romanitas*. Papal authority is defined in language heavily indebted to imperial precedent. To take one instance: the more one looks at the language of Leo the Great, and the decisions embedded in it, the greater grows the extent of his debt to Roman Law.² When the Gaulish bishops received letters of exhortation or admonishment from the popes (and we have thirty-four of these for the period 404-464), they recognized in them the *auctoritas* not of St. Peter only but of the City; and no service is done to our understanding of the fifth-century bishops by trying too hard to disentangle these allegiances. The point was not lost on the Visigoths, who used to distinguish the Gallic Catholics from themselves by calling them Romans: they did not call themselves Romans.³ But it must have been hard for them to square the progressive withdrawal of Rome's imperial authority with the numerous instances of the exercise of that other Roman authority of the popes, and to have made sense of such an incident as the masterful intervention of Leo the Great over the disputed election to Arles in 445, backed up by a rescript of Valentinian III.

Roman Law has a good deal to do with the strengthening of papal authority in Gaul, as elsewhere, and in determining the attitude of the Visigoths to *Romanitas*. The bishops were aware that they lived under Roman Law and aware, too, that in their *scriptoria* and libraries it was preserved.⁴ Because they looked upon the Theodosian Code, and in particular Book XVI, as some

¹ *Epist.*, I, 6. The best study of Sidonius and his circle remains C. E. Stevens's *Sidonius Apollinaris and his age* (1933), though A. Loyen, *Recherches historiques sur les Panégyriques de Sidoine Apollinaire* (1942) is useful in a narrower field. L. Duval-Arnould, *Études d'histoire du droit romain au V^e siècle d'après les lettres et les poèmes de Sidoine Apollinaire* (1888) is less good than Stevens thinks.

² The matter goes back beyond Pope Leo. Aspects of it are treated by Peter Classen, "Kaiserreskript und Königssurkunde", *Archiv für Diplomatik*, I (1955), 82 ff.

³ Gregory of Tours, *Liber in glor. mart.*, 24.

⁴ Much has been written on this subject. It is summarized by J. Gaudemet, "Survivances romaines dans le droit de la monarchie franque", *Revue d'histoire du droit*, vol. xxiii (1955).

guarantee of their position in the state, excerpts from the Code for the use of the Church were not rare in Gaul.¹ But there is another way in which the Church was involved in the survival of Roman Law; in the formulation, namely, of what has come now to be called post-classical Vulgar Law, though Savigny and Brunner called it something different. This was never "barbarized" law, since the barbarians had almost no effect on its evolution; it was Roman Law,² the study and the teaching of which in at least some western cities during and after the invasions can alone explain why barbarian institutions and laws developed as they did. We do not have to envisage anything systematic or ambitious; but, directly or not, the Theodosian Code, completed in 438, was the source-book and inspiration of the lawyers who found employment under the Visigothic and Burgundian kings. The jurist, Leo, *consiliarius* to the Visigoths and friend of Sidonius, even had some acquaintance with the Law of the Twelve Tables. The compilers of Alaric's Breviary (*Lex Romana Visigothorum*) could master a version of Paul's Sentences that was not the version used by Justinian's lawyers, and the sentences they excerpted show that their interests were their own and not those of Byzantium. Much work is to be done in this field, on the technical accomplishment of the western masters and on the diffusion of their compilations. The names of some of them are known from inscriptions. Why, and for whom, was the text of Gaius copied in southern Gaul in the fifth century, only to have Cassian's *Institutions* written over it a few years later?³ What legal background, and how much continuity, must we suppose at Lyons for the transcribing of the fine sixth-century Theodosian Code that is now in Paris,⁴

¹ Gaudemet, loc. cit. p. 166, n. 52.

² See Ernst Levy, *A Palingenesia of the opening titles as a specimen of research in West Roman Vulgar Law* (1945), *West Roman Vulgar Law: the Law of Property* (1951) and *Weströmisches Vulgarrecht, das Obligationenrecht* (1956); and E. Volterra, "Western Post-classical Schools", *Cambridge Law Journal*, vol. x (1949).

³ E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, vi, 726, allows that the primary script of this manuscript (now MS. Autun, Bibl. Mun. 24, S. 28, fos. 97-110) could be Italian or Gallo-Roman, and even goes so far as to think that it might be a local Autun script. Every other consideration seems to me to point to a Gallo-Roman origin.

⁴ Bibl. Nat., Lat. 9643 (C.L.A. V, 591).

or the contemporary copy, also uncial, of Alaric's Breviary that has come to rest in Munich,¹ or the related half-uncial copy of the Breviary in Berlin?² Such a group of manuscripts may not prove the existence of a great writing-centre, but it does prove scribal activity³ and zeal for book-collecting. It does argue a market for legal texts of whatever quality, and a demand from men sufficiently trained to make use of them. *Lex Romana Burgundionum* marks a further stage of that interest.

One use to which these legal texts were put was political. The *Lex Romana* of the Visigoths was compiled in a hurry at King Alaric II's request,⁴ and was intended to appease his Gallo-Roman and Catholic subjects, and conceivably also the Empire, in not all of which respects it failed. But we can look further back, to the vestigial legislation of King Euric, the work of Roman jurists, succinct and clear, steering a subtle course between Vulgar Law and Gothic custom, and intended for the use of Goths, not Romans. There was no political appeasement here, and no need of it. Perhaps it is not inappropriate that, with the exception of one manuscript now in the Bibliothèque Nationale⁵ and excerpts in later Visigothic Law, the *Codex Euricianus* is best preserved in association with the spiritedly barbarian *Lex Baiuvariorum*. We have no more than fragments of Euric's *Codex* (to be precise, the last sixty of a possible 336 clauses, though there are gaps, even here). Their nature is best revealed by the surviving titles: *De Commendatis vel Commodatis*, *De Venditionibus*, *De Donationibus*, and *De Successionibus*. Were I to picture to myself the missing titles, they would cover the sort of matters that can be found in the *Pactus Legis Salicae*: namely, *De Manire*, *De Furtis*, *De Rapto*, *De Vulneribus*, *De Homicidiis*, *De Sepibus*, *De Plagiatoribus*, *De Migrantibus* and so

¹ Clm. 22501 (C.L.A. IX, 1324).

² Deutsche Staatsbibl., Phillips 1761 (C.L.A. VIII, 1064).

³ This is considered by E. A. Lowe in his *Codices Lugdunenses Antiquissimi* (1924). Some modifications are made in C.L.A. VI and VII.

⁴ It may be worth noting the king's name. Was it his father's intention to remind his people of the first Alaric?

⁵ Lat. 12161 (C.L.A. V, 626). This sixth-century uncial manuscript—and highly illegible it is—was, Lowe thinks, "written presumably in the Visigothic kingdom, probably in South France".

on; though, were I to find them, I should not conclude that the Goths were everywhere settled down quietly on their two-thirds of Roman estates. As Vinogradoff pointed out, some of this surviving matter is drawn direct from Roman sources, and by trained civilians: for example, the forbidding of actions concerning events that had occurred more than thirty years earlier; the nullification of donations extorted by force or intimidation, "a rule which breaks through the purely formalistic treatment of obligations natural to barbaric law"; and the granting of equality as to inheritance between men and women.¹ But, when all has been said, the influence of Roman upon Gothic practice is not very strong or wide here; and the facts must not be confused with the forms. No Gothic legislation earlier than the time of Leuvigild, in the late sixth century, bears any trace of thinking in terms of a state that is neither Roman nor Gothic but a fusion of the two; and the process becomes marked only in the reign of Reccaswinth.² It would require the survival of a fairly large batch of private *instrumenta* to make me feel sure that even the Eurician regulations we do have were widely applied in his own reign. It seems to me that we are still quite a long way from Athaulf's pipe-dream of a Gothic *respublica* living under law. What we have arrived at is rather a Gallo-Roman *respublica* living under law that makes special provisions in limited matters for a Gothic minority and that otherwise allows that Goths are Goths and Romans, Romans. This in itself is no mean achievement, but it has not the legal interest of *Lex Gundobada*, the Burgundian Law of about the same date, where a more wide-reaching fusion of Roman and Germanic legal elements has taken place. And we can almost look beyond Euric to law-making by his father, King Theodoric I, which he cites, and to some by his brother, Theodoric II, which laws Sidonius termed "leges", not "edicta".³ Euric required his subjects to stick

¹ P. Vinogradoff, *Roman Law in Medieval Europe* (2nd. edn., 1929), p. 30.

² Cf. F. S. Lear, "The public law of the Visigothic Code", *Speculum*, vol. xxvi (1951), and the important remarks of E. A. Thompson, "The conversion of the Visigoths to Catholicism", *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, iv (1960), esp. pp. 32 ff.

³ [Of Seronatus] "leges Theudosianas calcans Theudoricianasque proponens" (*Epist.* ii. 1). However, it cannot be inferred from this that Theodoric II had

to the property-boundaries, the "antiquos terminos", "sicut et bonae memoriae pater noster in alia lege praecepit".¹ The Law of Property is not quickly barbarized. Ludwig Schmidt believed that such law-giving, affecting as it did Goths and Romans in their relations with each other, was a conscious step towards royal autonomy.² But what autonomy means in such a context, and what Theodoric thought he would gain by it, is not clear to me. Zeumer³ held that the mere act of codification made Gothic law more Roman. He would have had in mind the kind of comment made by Isidore in the seventh century: "sub hoc rege Gothi legum instituta scriptis habere coeperunt. Nam antea tantum moribus et consuetudine tenebantur."⁴ But we should not carry this too far. The strong traces of customary Gothic law in medieval Spanish legislation are enough to remind us that, however Roman the disguise, Gothic custom remained Gothic.⁵ Now, part at least of this fairly continuous Visigothic involvement in the forms of Roman Law is only conceivable with the assistance of the Church. Alaric's *Lex Romana* shows clear traces of clerical drafting, and the same hand may be detected there as in the canons of the Synod of Agde, summoned in that very year (506) to placate the Roman Church: the hand, namely, of Caesarius of Arles.⁶ Behind the group of legal texts from Lyons must lie the resources of the Church of Lyons; and these could not have been less than the resources of the

even contemplated replacing the Codex with a Gothic equivalent, a systematic barbarian law-book. The reference must surely be to isolated regulations affecting property, if, indeed, it is not in part to be understood as irony. Isidore (see note 4 below) was not necessarily wrong in holding that Euric was the first of his race to produce a body of *leges scripta*. In this I must disagree with R. Buchner, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen (Die Rechtsquellen)*, p. 7 and with F. Beyerle, *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung, Germ. Abt.* lxxvii. 4 ff.

¹ Cod. Eur., 277. ² Ostgermanen, p. 464. ³ Neues Archiv, xxiii. 470.

⁴ Hist. Goth. (M.G.H., Auct. Ant., xi. 281).

⁵ Cf. E. de Hinojosa, "Das germanische Element im spanischen Rechte", *Zeitsch. d. Savigny-Stift., Germ. Abt.*, xxxi (1910), 282 ff., and the more recent literature cited by Buchner, op. cit. p. 9, n. 25.

⁶ Such is the argument of Eberhard Bruck, *Über Römisches Recht im Rahmen der Kulturgeschichte* (1954). Caesarius was recalled in haste from exile in Bordeaux to prepare the work of the council; an exile to which, like the Bishop of Tours, he had been condemned by Alaric himself. It is not known that Alaric, for all his concessions, ever ceased to be an Arian.

neighbouring Church of Clermont, where in the seventh century Roman Law continued to be taught.¹ Episcopal notaries would have concurred with a pronouncement only slightly later in date, that that Law by which the Church lives is Roman Law.² It is also part of a threatened heritage, and so to be prized for its very *Romanitas*. It seems doubtful if the secular study of law in Gaul survived at all far into the fifth century;³ there is no evidence that men like Leo were common. The Church alone could have taken the place of the old public law schools, in so far as anything took their place. Some at least of the Visigoth kings must have come to associate law with the Church, and to have relied to some extent on it in their dealings with their Gallo-Roman subjects. Hence it comes about that, in 462, the pope can write to the Bishop of Arles ordering him to remove his suffragan of Narbonne, about whom "filius noster", the Arian Frederic, brother of King Theodoric II, had been complaining to him.⁴ The Visigoth lords are glad enough to make use of the pope and the bishops and the law by which they live.

But there is another side to the Church's activity, and wider intellectual interests, including some that could not please the Goths in the long run. Lyons had other than legal manuscripts. That is to say, one speaks of "Lyons manuscripts" when the plain fact is that hardly any manuscripts of the fifth century can be ascribed to places of origin with anything approaching certainty. Most that have been assigned with varying degrees of probability to one place rather than to another have been so assigned on general palaeographical grounds that should not be pressed against evidence of other kinds, that point in other directions. This is not a matter to argue at length here, but it must be mentioned because it affects some fifth-century manuscripts that, I suspect, could as well be Gallo-Roman as Italian in origin; and the way that the issue is some day decided must

¹ *Vita Boniti*, chap. 2 (*M.G.H., S.R.M.*, vi. 120). But who did the teaching?

² *Lex Ribbaria*, 58.

³ Cf. P. Riché, "La survivance des écoles publiques en Gaule au Ve siècle", *Le Moyen Âge*, vol. lxiii (1957). But there may have been exceptions, especially in the South.

⁴ This extraordinary letter survives in the *Epistolae Arelatenses* (*M.G.H., Epist.* III, no. 15).

affect our opinion of the relative state of culture of these two parts of the Empire. Is it good enough to make an *a priori* judgement that Italian cultural standards were the higher and, hence, that any given manuscript that is well-written is more safely assignable to Italy, even though its earliest known provenance was Gallic, or the associations of its contents Gallo-Roman? It is a hard question. Nobody will dispute the scribal primacy of a fifth-century Italy that could produce the *Mediceus* of Virgil. But scribal primacy is not quite what is involved; calligraphy and intellectual appetite do not always go hand in hand; and scribal primacy cannot help anyone to infer much about the original home of, let us say, the fifth-century manuscripts of St. Hilary's writings, now scattered over Europe, or about the western legal manuscripts of that century. Both of these groups might as reasonably look to Gaul as to Italy for a home and an origin. There are, too, biblical texts and commentaries, the texts of pagan classical authors, that are assigned to Italy without any argument more weighty than grounds of general probability that in the last resort are scarcely palaeographical at all. Did not the Gallo-Romans for whom the *Querolus* was written make their own copies of Terence, Livy, Virgil, Ovid, Sallust, and Pliny? There are fifth-century manuscripts, or fragments of manuscripts, of all these writers that could, with varying degrees of likelihood, be Gallo-Roman.¹ There are fragments of a manuscript of Euclid that almost certainly is.² When we consider the range of issues that were being debated by the Gallic clergy, inside and outside the monasteries, throughout the fifth century, we can only suppose that the Italian *scriptoria* did an extraordinarily brisk business supplying them with texts, or else that the Gallic *scriptoria* managed a fair amount of the work on the spot. I cannot myself believe that Gallic *scriptoria* were innocent of the short-lived renaissance of interest in Greek

¹ These manuscripts are respectively C.L.A. VII, 974; IV, 499; IV, 498 and VII, 977; IX, 1377; VI and VIII, 809; VI, 725. See the remarks of Paul Lehmann, "The Benedictine Order and the transmission of the literature of ancient Rome", reprinted in *Erforschung des Mittelalters*, III (1960), p. 176.

² Verona XL (38) in rustic capitals (C.L.A., IV, 501); overwritten with Gregory's *Moralia* at Luxeuil in the early eighth century.

writers that belonged to the 470s, when discussion of patristic and Neo-Platonic texts was fairly widespread in the southern cities.¹ The number of reports of pilgrimages to Palestine that originate from Gaul; the decisions about admitting eastern priests taken by Gallic and Spanish synods; the kind of material lying behind such a book as the *De Statu Animae* of Claudianus Mamertus; the activity of the school of Vienne under the *rhetor* Sapaudus; all these suggest links between Gallic clergy and the Greek-speaking world, while others point direct to Africa. They are a warning against making too much of the migration of Gallo-Roman *rhetorici* to Ireland during the invasions. There were men left in Gaul able to make use of a wide range of theological texts, and in the process to hammer out a language adequate to their special needs. Their doctrinal debates have immediacy. In some way that has still to be determined, they are the link between the monastic fanatics of the early fifth century and the episcopal colleagues of Gregory of Tours in the sixth.

There is a letter from Sidonius to Bishop Basilius of Aix—one of the negotiators of the peace of 475—which takes us to one root of the trouble that wrecked the Roman experiment of a Visigothic Gaul.² He begins by praising the stand taken by Basilius against the Arian preaching of the Goth Modahar. He goes on:

I pour into your ears my grief at the ravages of the great wolf of our times, who ranges about the ecclesiastical fold battenning upon lost souls, and biting right and left by stealth and undetected. The devil begins by threatening the shepherds' throats, knowing it the best way to ensure his triumph over the bleating and abandoned sheep. . . . Neither a saint like you can fitly here discuss, nor a sinner like myself indict, the action of Euric the Gothic king in breaking and bearing down an ancient treaty to defend, or rather extend by armed force, the frontiers of his kingdom. . . . I must confess that formidable as the mighty Goth may be, I dread him less as the assailant of our walls than as the subverter of our Christian laws. They say that the mere mention of the name of Catholic so embitters his countenance and heart that one might take him for the chief priest of his Arian sect rather than for the monarch of his nation. Omnipotent in arms, keen-witted and

¹ P. Courcelle, *Les Lettres grecques en occident* (1948), esp. p. 245, associates this renaissance with the flourishing Athenian school of Proclus and with the nomination of a Greek, Anthemius, as Emperor in the West.

² *Epist.* vii. 6.

in the full vigour of life, he yet makes this single mistake—he attributes his success in his designs and enterprises to the orthodoxy of his belief. . . . Do your best, as far as the royal condescension suffers you, to obtain for our bishops the right of ordination in those parts of Gaul now included within the Gothic boundaries, that if we cannot keep them by treaty for the Roman state, we may at least hold them by religion for the Roman Church.

From this letter it could be inferred that Arianism paid; even, that at last, under a strong king, it had been able to make its own contribution to the autonomy that the Goths had always really wanted. Indeed there was no softness about King Euric, and no nonsense about a *foedus* that no longer bore any relation to political facts. We cannot be at all sure that he systematically persecuted the Roman Church, and there is a good deal to be said for the view that such persecution as he did countenance was in the nature of a wartime measure.¹ Modahar is the only Gothic preacher who is known ever to have attempted the conversion of the faithful in Gaul. As a rule, the Arian hierarchy (if we can speak of such) kept remarkably quiet. The fact is, there never was anything in Arianism that made it a more suitable religion than orthodox Catholicism for a Germanic nation. Not in itself nationalistic, it need never have become so.² It may not even have been a particularly long-cherished creed to many of the Goths.³ What sharpened Visigothic awareness that Arianism was not Roman in the way they must once have supposed, was the hostility of the Catholic bishops among whom they were settled, and reports of the much fiercer opposition of the African bishops to the Arian Vandals. In this sense, it was Catholicism that defined the edges of Arianism and gave it a nationalistic flavour; but it did not happen at once or quickly. We need not suppose that the Arian Visigoths were from the

¹ The case for persecution rests mainly on Gregory of Tours, *Hist.* ii. 25 and *De Glor. Conf.* 47. Cf. G. Yver, "Euric Roi des Wisigoths", in *Études d'Histoire du Moyen Âge dédiées à Gabriel Monod* (1896). Some examples of what churches suffered during Gothic campaigns by way of pillage will be found in the *Vita* of St. Caesarius of Arles. Cf. E. A. Thompson, "The conversion of the Visigoths to Catholicism", *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, iv (1960), 9.

² Cf. A. H. M. Jones, "Were ancient heresies national or social movements in disguise"? *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. x (1959).

³ Cf. E. A. Thompson, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, vii (1956), I—II, who argues that the Goths were still an essentially pagan people when they entered the Empire in 376.

first the enemies of the Gallo-Roman Catholics, much less their persecutors. Sidonius probably exaggerated; for his church seemed to emerge in fairly good trim from the jaws of the Visigoths; and some had a feeling that the good old days were on their way back. Yet his charges are specific. He says that the churches of Bordeaux, Périgueux, Rodez, Limoges, Javols, Eauze, Bazas, Comminges, Auch "and of many other cities" had lost their bishops and been unable to replace them. Euric may have had special reasons to distrust the faithful of these cities. Special or general, however, there is no need to minimize the extent of his hostility to Catholicism. We know from Salvian that there were Visigothic scholars at the court of Toulouse who were able to revise the Gothic Bible,¹ and who, in the long run, might have been able to offer some intellectual opposition to the Catholics. I see no alternative to supposing that, in the half-century or so that separated the settlement in *Aquitania II* from the reign of King Euric, Arian mistrust of Catholics had been fanned by the detestation of Catholics for Arians into something very like the religion of a people, royal in identity of control; and a people, moreover, for the first time jealous for their vernacular liturgy. This growing mistrust coincided with fierce Catholic polemic against heresy of other kinds, and also with increasingly clear statements from the popes about the nature of their supremacy and of the dependence of Catholic bishops upon St. Peter's *auctoritas*, defined in Roman juridical terms. Here was a Rome that could dare to act with independence of emperors who lived under barbarian patronage, as well as of those that did not. Its authority, external to Gaul, claimed the allegiance of most of the subjects of the Visigothic kings; and it is not altogether surprising that Euric, "*istius aetatis lupo*", took fright. Another Goth, Theodoric the Great in Italy, was to lose his head in just such a manner and with rather less excuse. How hard Euric was pressed the swift collapse of his successor was to show.

Were the Catholic bishops, in their turn, so frightened of Arianism as to risk an open breach with the Goths? It is easy

¹ *De Gub. Dei*, v, §§ 5 ff.

to hear the note of alarm in the letter of Sidonius; but, late in the day though it is, it hardly betrays fear of extinction. To a large extent, the Visigoths had been an irrelevance to the Gallic Church; her big problems had not been created by barbarian movements, and no Gallo-Roman churchman of the fifth century saw with the clarity of Gregory the Great that the barbarians had come to stay and must be wrestled with as whole peoples, ripe for conversion. But indifference to Goths did not lead to compromise over Arian doctrine, even among bishops who worked closely with them. The case of Caesarius of Arles bishop of the most civilized see in Gaul, is not untypical:

instruxit itaque et ibi et ubique semper ecclesiam reddere quae sunt Caesaris Caesari et quae sunt Dei Deo, oboedire quidem iuxta Apostolum regibus et potestatibus, quando iusta praecipunt, nam despectui habere in principe Arriani dogmatis pravitatem.¹

Caesarius worked long with the Visigoths without ever compromising over their heresy. Much the same position was taken by his contemporary, Avitus of Vienne, adviser to Burgundian kings. They do not seem to have feared the outcome. After all, they were well-entrenched at the level of the *civitas*; they were rich in property (not in vain did Salvian plead for legacies—"God loveth a cheerful giver");² and they had ability. Already one can see in outline the masters of the Franks. So they faced Euric and failed to be impressed by his successor's concessions. Indeed, they rather acted on the assumption (correct, as it turned out) that there was something impermanent about the Visigoths; the army of occupation was still an army after a century's residence, and its chieftains had not lost their identity. They had not even intermarried with their hosts, as Athaulf had when he married Galla Placidia, though the law that prevented them from doing so derived from the traditional practice of Rome.

¹ *Vita*, Book 1, chap. 23. (*M.G.H., S.R.M.*, iii. 464).

² *Ad Ecclesiam*, i. 8; ii. 14; iv. 2; and elsewhere. In the same sense Sidonius writes "quicquid ecclesiis spargis, tibi colligis" (*Epist.* viii. 4); and even St. Martin required the Emperor to restore confiscated church property (*Dialogus*, ii. 7). The very great social implications of Christian giving are developed by Eberhard Bruck, "Ethics versus Law: St. Paul, the Fathers of the Church and the "Cheerful Giver" in Roman Law", *Traditio*, ii. 1944.

I cannot detect a steady romanization of the Goths over this time in Gaul; their dip into *Romania* amounts to little in practice. Still less can I make anything of the theory that, after a bad start, they made an attempt to create a *Gothia*. This is to make far too much of a kind of political independence that was wished on them by the collapse of the Western Empire.¹ I am not at all sure what one ought to make of Gothic "expansion" in Gaul. Jordanes consistently stresses that Euric's advances were necessitated by imperial weakness. In the letter I have already cited, Sidonius admits that Euric thought he was defending, not extending, his kingdom's frontiers. This is the sort of thing that tyrants do think, of course; but consider the movements of barbarian peoples in his vicinity, above all of the Franks and the Alamans. Within a decade of the Catalaunian Plain, Franks were being used to put down the Burgundians, to rescue Arles from the Visigoths and to carry out operations in Armorica and its approaches. Against such enemies, not against the Empire, the Visigoths needed to make preparation. It is fatally easy to imagine that the natural enemy of every Germanic king was the Roman emperor, when in fact it was another Germanic king. "Pushing forward frontiers", "strengthening independence" and "establishing autonomy" are phrases of little significance when applied to barbarians; and if one agrees with Gibbon that "France may ascribe her greatness to the premature death of the Gothic king", it is not because Euric came anywhere near establishing Athaulf's *Gothia*. That the Goths were heretics, and perhaps confused by the changing faces of the power of Rome, made it all the worse. The Gallic setting of these independent *reguli*, not least the setting of their law, makes them look more Roman than they really were. Roman Law never brought about any change in their concept of kingship, at least in Gaul.² Later on, in Spain, and within the orbit of Byzantium, it did; but that is another story.

¹ In this matter I differ strongly from Schmidt, *Ostgermanen*, 496, and others.

² I can find no justification for Schmidt's view that "das westgotische König-tum eine neuere Schöpfung war" (op. cit. p. 512). Under Alaric II as under Athaulf it is still in essentials the war-leadership of a confederation of Germanic tribes; administering law to Gallo-Romans through Gallo-Romans does not much affect the issue.

A single campaign was enough to overthrow the Visigothic kingdom of Toulouse; the area originally assigned to them was settled by Franks. Perhaps most of the Goths were already in Spain, where they always seem to have been happier.¹ Some, certainly, retreated upon Narbonne and from that base put up a fight for Septimania against the Franks that Frankish historians managed to gloss over, though Spanish writers did not.² As late as the seventh century, the see of Narbonne belonged to the Spanish Church. All this makes it hard to believe the Frankish boast that the Goths were soft. We cannot so easily account for their disappearance from all Gaul but Septimania. The conclusion seems to be that they had failed to ingratiate themselves with *Romania* as decisively as they had failed to create *Gothia*—if either had ever been their intention. They had remained isolated in a Roman province indifferent to their fate; and, in the end, found it easier to pack their bags and go.

¹ But it is fair to remember that Hispano-Romans could object to Goths as strongly as did Gallo-Romans: Burdunelus was brought up to Toulouse for execution in 497 (*Chron. Caesaraug.*, s.a. 496-7). Justinian's reconquest of south-eastern Spain still lay in the future.

² The seriousness of the Frankish struggle for parts of the Midi is well brought out by E. Ewig, *Die fränkischen Teilungen und Teilreiche (511-613)*, 1952.

FOUR UNPUBLISHED POEMS IN RYLANDS HEBREW MS. 6—ONE BY ABRAHAM (IBN EZRA?)¹

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ONE of the outstanding features of Rylands Hebrew MS. 6, which contains a Passover Haggadah, is, as my account in the BULLETIN, xliii. 243–72, shows,² the collection of eighty-two sacred poems (*piyyûṭîm*) incorporated in it. Of these, seventy-three are known to be included in various other collections and are recorded in I. Davidson's *Thesaurus of Medieval Hebrew Poetry*³ with most of their composers identified. Of the nine unrecorded and unpublished poems, which have been indicated in my article according to their position in the

¹ The following article formed, with numerous alterations, the basis of a lecture given at the 3rd World Congress of Jewish Studies in Jerusalem, July 1961. The abbreviations used below are: B.M. I.—British Museum MS. Or. 1404; Gabirol—*Shîrê Shelome ben Yehudah Ibn Gabirol* (4 vols.), ed. H. N. Bialik . . . , Tel-Aviv, 1928; Kahana—*Abraham Ibn Ezra* (2 vols.), by D. Kahana (2nd edition), Warsaw, 1922; Kuzari—*Sēpher Ha-Kuzari*, translated by Yehudah Ibn Tibbon (Lemberg, 1866); Mibhḥar—*Mibhḥar Ha-Shîrāh Hā-'Ibhrîth* (2nd edn.), by H. Brody . . . ; Schirmann—*Ha-Shîrāh Hā-'Ibhrîth Bi-Sephārad* . . . (2 vols.), by H. Schirmann, Tel-Aviv, 1954–6; SRDT—*The Use of the Tenses in Hebrew* (3rd edn.) by S. R. Driver; WHMS—*Hebrew MS. 6 in the BULLETIN*, xliii, by M. Wallenstein; Yedi'oth—*Yedi'ôth Ha-Mākhôn Le-Ḥēqer Ha-Shîrāh Ha-'Ibhrîth* (7 vols.), Berlin-Jerusalem, 1933–58; Yellin—*Tôrath Ha-Shîrāh Ha-Sephāradîth*, by D. Yellin, Jerusalem, 1940; ZYH—*Kol-Shîrê Rabbi Yehudah Halevi* (3 vols.), 2nd edn., edited by I. Zmora, Tel-Aviv, 1948–50.

² A full assessment of the illuminations of this Haggadah and the light it throws on the history of the illumination of Hebrew manuscripts in general is given in BULLETIN, xliii. 131–59, by Dr. Cecil Roth. (See also Dr. Helen Rosenau, BULLETIN, xxxvi. 468–83.) Here one may note that Dr. Roth's view (pp. 142 f.) that the Passover Haggadah in Heb. MS. 6 originated in Provence, rather than the Iberian Peninsula, appears plausible. One may, however, still refer to it as "the Spanish Haggadah" in the broad sense, since in the Middle Ages Provence was culturally nearer to Spain than France; this is particularly true with regard to its Jewish community.

³ In 4 vols., New York, 1924–33. A supplement appeared in HUCA, XII–XIII, pp. 750–823 (1937–8).

manuscript as 21, 38, 39, 41, 43, 45, 51, 72, and 75,¹ two (41 and 45) were there singled out for special discussion (*ibid.* pp. 253-71). The following are four more unpublished poems from the same manuscript, namely, 43, 51, 72 and 75, 43 embodying the acrostic משה; 51, אברהם; and 72 and 75 having no acrostic. Each poem, which is introduced by a discussion (with a rather longer discussion on poem 51—that of Abraham Ibn Ezra(?)), is reconstructed to indicate its external artistic features and annotated and translated.

Poem 43

The poem, an 'Ahabbāh² of the "girdle poem" (*muwashshah*)³ type, is recorded on fols. 44^r-44^v of the manuscript. It is composed of nine verses, five of which (the first, third, fifth, seventh, and ninth) are the *muwashshahat*, "girdling" as they do the four strophes (the second, fourth, sixth, and eighth). Each of the *muwashshahat* consists of two lines each of which is made up of an opening hemistich (*deleth*) and a closing hemistich (*sôghēr*). Each of the strophes consists of three *deleth*-and-*sôghēr* lines. The first verse of the poem, called the "leader verse" (*pethîḥāh*) of the *muwashshahat*, sets the metre of the whole nine verses. The metre is, with the exception of some slight deviations, ---v----- for both the twenty-two opening-hemistichs (*delātôth*) and their parallel closing-hemistichs (*sôgherîm*). With regard to the rhyme, however, its "leadership" is confined only to its companion *muwashshahat* and not to the strophes, each of which has its own independent rhymes. All told, there are three rhymes for the *muwashshahat* and eight for the strophes.

The initial letters of the first lines of the first, second and third strophes combine acrostically to make the name משה as the author of the poem. At first sight this משה suggests Mosheh Ibn Ezra.⁴ For Mosheh Ibn Ezra's *piyyûṭîm* have been cherished by Spanish Jewish communities who have included a great

¹ See WHMS, pp. 248-52.

² For its meaning as a term in *piyyûṭ*, see WHMS, p. 249, n. 2.

³ For its meaning, etc., see WHMS, p. 253, n. 4.

⁴ Born in Granada in 1055 and died in Christian Spain in 1138.

number of them in their *Maḥazôrîm* (one such *piyyûṭ* was actually included also in our "Spanish" collection¹); further, the poem does not lack poetical power and expresses in the best tradition of the Spanish Jewish poets genuine feelings of longing for redemption from exile not alien to those expressed by Mosheh Ibn Ezra elsewhere. However, this suggestion is not borne out by closer examination. Doubts arise principally from the language in which the poem is clothed; it is out of harmony with the rigorous requirements laid down by Ibn Ezra in his *Kitāb al-Muḥādara wa'l-Mudhākara*² with regard to the words and idioms, grammar and syntax to be employed in the composition of poetry. The repeated and detailed guidance given in this book (of which the greater part is devoted to the art of writing poetry) concerning the absolute clarity of expression—a guidance generally taken heed of in practice by its author in his hundreds of both secular and sacred poems—is strikingly ignored in our poem.³ We are, then, left with two other poets of the name Mosheh who could be considered as possible authors. The one is Mosheh ben Naḥman.⁴ Though not generally known as a poet, he possessed considerable poetical skill and some of his *piyyûṭîm* were recited by a number of Spanish Jewish communities. The other is Mosheh Hacohen Ibn Chiqatilla.⁵

¹ Beginning with *יה שכינתך*, fol. 52^r. See *Thesaurus* II, *yôdh*, 1136.

² The present author used B. Halper's Hebrew translation of this work which he (Halper) freely rendered *Sh'rath Isrā'el* (Leipzig, 1925).

³ See the appropriate notes on the Hebrew text.

⁴ Born in Gerona in 1194 and known as Naḥmanides and in some circles as Bonastruc da Porta. In this respect, cf. his long poem beginning with *רעי לי מִיבְּחָר* (*Mibḥhar*, pp. 281-6) addressed to Rabbi Jonah of Gerona in which are feelingly expressed the grief brought about by exile and the hopes for the Epoch of Redemption. The resignation to tribulation alluded to in line 5 and more explicitly expressed in line 13b of our poem (see n. 1, p. 243) is featured also in this poem. The fact that most of the poems assembled in the manuscript date from the Classical Period of the so-called Hebrew Golden Age in Spain, mainly from A.D. 1020-1150 (see WHMS, p. 252), should not disqualify Naḥmanides. Witness, for instance, the poet Nahum, also of the thirteenth century, three of whose poems are included in the manuscript (see WHMS, p. 252, n. 5). However, the violations of grammar and syntax exhibited in the poem appear too serious even for Naḥmanides, and for that matter also for Mosheh Ibn Chiqatilla (see following note).

⁵ Born in Cordoba in the eleventh century. For a collection of some of his poems, see H. Brody, *Yedî'oth*, iii, 73-90.

אַהֲבָה

- 1 זֶם רְצוֹן¹ לָשׁוּב לְמִשְׁרָה
הוֹחֲלֵתִי וְשָׁנַת גְּאוּלָּה²
2 יִתְחַדֵּשׁ רוּחִי בְקִרְבִּי
לֹא נוֹאֵשׁ לִימִי³ גְּאוּלָּה⁴
3 מִתְעוֹרֵר לִבִּי לְתִקְוָה
לֹא בְרָאוֹת חֶפֶץ מְבוֹקֵשׁ
4 שָׁפֵל מִתְלַבֵּשׁ בְּגִאוּה⁵
וְאַנִּי⁶ מַעֲמִים מְקוֹדֵשׁ
5 לֹא חָלָה⁷ נַפְשִׁי וְדוּה
אִם⁸ מְכֹאֹב תָּמִיד מְחוֹדֵשׁ
6 יֵשׁ גּוֹלָה יִלְבֵּשׁ גְּבוּרָה
וְשִׁבּוּתוֹ⁹ מַעֲטָה תִּהְיֶה¹⁰

¹ Cf. Isa. lviii. 5; lxi. 2.

² Cf. Isa. lxiii. 4. The verb הוֹחֲלֵתִי of line 1b and the *lamedh* of לָשׁוּב of line 1a are to be applied twice (see translation). The peculiar syntax is obviously due to the metre. See n. 4 below.

³ לימי, instead of מימי (cf. 1 Sam. xxvii. 1), but the *lamedh* seems to stand here for לקראת.

⁴ Cf. Lev. xxv. 29 and note the play on the phrase, this making גְּאוּלָּה here homonymous with that of line 1b and not its mere repetition. The calculation and the forecasting of the exact date of the Messianic redemption is much in evidence in poetry of the Spanish School. See n. 1, p. 251.

⁵ (= לא אוסיף לראות (כי), anomalous syntax.

⁶ Elliptical for בגד חפץ. Cf. perhaps Ezek. xxvii. 20. In post-Biblical Hebrew, however, חפץ implying any object is common.

⁷ The manuscript reads שָׁפֵל . . . בְּגִאוּה.

⁸ The *wāw* introduces here a statement of the concomitant condition; hence my translation. ⁹ Among the many other references, cf. Deut. vii. 6.

¹⁰ Accent on *heth*. For my translation, cf. Isa. lxvi. 8.

¹¹ אם followed by the imperfect with the meaning of "though" (for which cf. Isa. i. 18; Amos ix. 2-4) is a favourite with numerous Hebrew poets of the Spanish School. ¹² Lit., "And his return is . . .".

¹³ In the manuscript מעטה. This is denied by the metre. Further, Isa. lxi. 1-3, on which the whole hemistich is modelled, does not seem to support this reading.

- מִצָּאתִי נֶאֱמָן לְכָבִי¹ 7
 כִּי רַפְּאֵתִי עַל נִקְלָה²
 שְׁלֹתִי בִימֵי נְעוּרֵי 8
 וּבִבֵּית עוֹלָמִים³ כְּבוֹדִי
 נִדְדָתִי מִבֵּית מְגוּרֵי 9
 לֹא יָרַד אֶפֹּד בְּיָדִי⁴
 לֹא מִצָּאתִי חֲזוֹן גְּבִירִי⁵ 10
 מִיּוֹם הִרְחַקְתִּי נְדוּדֵי
 אֵינִי דוֹד אֶרֶח לְחֻבְרָה⁶ 11
 אֲזִי יִחְפֹּץ לַעֲשׂוֹת גְּדֻלָּה⁷
 אִם בָּרַח⁸ מִבֵּית מִסְכֵּי⁹ 12
 וּלְתִי אֶל עַם הַנִּגְלָה¹⁰

¹ Cf. Neh. ix. 8.

² Cf. Jer. vi. 14. For the meaning of כִּי here, cf. Gen. xviii. 15 (end).

³ Viz. the holy temple. Cf. Sukkah 5b. Cf. also I Kings viii. 13.

⁴ Namely, I, in my plight and wandering, possess no instrument with which to consult God. The phrase is borrowed from I Sam. xxiii. 6-9, where we are told about Ebiathar the priest who, when he fled, came down with an ephod—a priestly vestment—in his hand which David consulted.

⁵ The metre is out of step here, -- ט -----, instead of -- ט ----- . Read perhaps, then, מִצָּאתִי instead of מִצָּאתִי.

⁶ In the manuscript בִּרְח לְחֻבְרָה . . . , a reading which makes no sense here; it seems to be due to *homoioteleuton* (see line 12a). For the corrected reading, cf. Job xxxiv. 8. By דוֹד is here meant God, as commonly taken in the Midrashic literature. Cf. e.g. Sabbath 63a.

⁷ Elliptical for . . . אֲשֶׁר אֲזִי. The use of אֲזִי here followed by the imperfect is irregular, as it does not seem to introduce, nor does it seem to point to, an ensuing event, as the case is, for instance, in Exod. xv. 1 and Deut. iv. 41. See SRDT, p. 32. For a Biblical echo of the last two words, cf. 2 Sam. vii. 23.

⁸ Cf. line 11a and Cant. viii. 14.

⁹ Cf. Cant. i. 12.

¹⁰ For the Niph'al rather than the (more common) Qal, cf. Isa. xxxviii. 12. For the anomalous use of the perfect with the definite article, cf. Jos. x. 24; Ezek. xxvi. 17; Ezra viii. 25. The application in this hemistich of וּלְתִי to the words that follow it is peculiar. Line 12 was copied (erroneously) twice in the manuscript. The theme of the friend who wandered away is a favourite with *secular* poetry of the Spanish School, being borrowed from the Arabs.

- וְהִלֹּנִי תַּלְאוֹת¹ 13
 מִשְׁכָּתִי לְסִבּוֹל רְצוֹנִי²
 עַל שְׁכָמִי מִן אֲזִנְשׂאוֹת 14
 אֵין חֶדֶשׁ בְּרִבּוֹת יְגוֹנִי
 לְבִי אֶל קֶץ הַפְּלָאוֹת² 15
 לְכִבוֹדִי שְׁמוֹר זְמַנִּי³
 אֵלֶיךָ אָנוּס לְעִזְרָה⁴ 16
 אֶהְבֶּה לֹא לְשֹׁכֵר סִגְלָה⁵
 נְצוּחַ אַחֲזִיק בְּחֶרֶבִי 17
 חֵין עֶרְכִּי⁵ וּבִשְׂרֵר תְּפִלָּה⁷
 מוֹעֲדוֹת פָּנִי לְדֶרֶכִּי 18
 אֶל אֶרֶצִי חֶדֶשׁ מְלוּכָה

¹ Without particle, for the sake of the metre. The idea of submission in suffering expressed in the hemistich is not uncommon in medieval Hebrew poetry. Cf. e.g. *תוכחות מריבי ערבו לי*, etc., (ZYH, iii. 223). Cf. also line 5 in the poem.

² Cf. Dan. xii. 6. For my translation of קֶץ, see V.T. iv. 2, pp. 211–13.

³ = *לכבודי* אל זמן השמור, paralleling line 15a.

⁴ A cherished notion in *piyyûṭim* of the Middle Ages. For a Biblical echo, cf. Isa. x. 3. In the manuscript *אל ירך*. This, if the *shewā* mobile under (the *daleth*) is to be taken into account, violates the metre.

⁵ Emblematical term for Israel (cf. Exod. xix. 5). The whole syntactically involved hemistich reflects *אהבם נרבה* "I will love them (the children of Israel) freely" (Hos. xiv. 5).

⁶ Cf. Job xli. 4, where the reference is apparently to the crocodile's graceful symmetry. Here it is obviously parallel with its following *ובשיר תפלה*. It is so taken by Targum and Rashi as well as by the Midrashic literature. Cf. e.g. Mid. Rab. 49 (towards the end) and Tanḥuma (Buber) *Wayyērā* 46. It is extensively used in this sense also in the Paytanic literature of the Palestinian School. See following note.

⁷ For the idea contained in the last two hemistichs, cf. *בחרבי ובקשתי* (Gen. xlviii. 22)—*בקה וז בקשה*, *חרבי וז תפלה*, (Baba Bathra 123a). Among other Midrashic sources, showing the play on *בְּקֶשְׁתִּי—בְּקֶשְׁתִּי*, cf. Mekh. *Beshallah* 14, 10. Cf. also Targ. on Gen. xlviii. 22, where the rendering *בצלתי ובבעותי* reflects the Midrashic interpretation.

וּמִבְּשָׁרִי אוֹחִיל וּמִלְכִּי	19
תְּשֻׁלֵּם תּוֹחֶלֶת מְשׁוּכָה־	
זֶה־פְּרִי מְתוֹק לְחֻבִּי	20
מִסּוֹרֶת וּבְרִית עֲרוּכָה־	
וּבְאַזְנוֹי אֲשַׁמֵּעַ בְּשׁוֹרָה	21
חֵשׁ אֲעִיר אֶהְבֶּה וְחֻמָּלָה	
זֶרַע אֲבָרָהֶם אֶהוּבִי	22
עוֹד וְהֵייתָם לִי סֻגָּלָה־	

'*Ahabhāh*

- 1 (I wait) for the Goodwill-day—(for the day) of the restoration of the dominion;
I hope for the Redemption Year.
- 2 My spirit renews itself within me;
It has not despaired of the Days of Release.
- 3 My heart awakens to the hope
That I may see no (more) the desired mantle
- 4 Being donned haughtily by base men
While I, above (other) peoples sanctified, (am left out).
- 5 My soul ails not, nor is it troubled
Though pain is perpetually renewed;
- 6 (For) even an exile may clothe himself with strength,
And return from his captivity enwrapped in glorious raiment.
- 7 (Thus) I found my heart firm;
Indeed, I have cured it with ease.

¹ Cf. Isa. xli. 27; lii. 7.

² Cf. Prov. xiii. 12. The change from the Pu'al to the Qal is obviously for metrical reasons.

³ Cf. Num. xiii. 27 and Cant. ii. 3, this being explained in the hemistich that follows it.

⁴ Cf. Ezek. xx. 37 and 2 Sam. xxiii. 5. For the last two hemistichs, cf. Cant. Rab. on Cant. ii. 3.

⁵ Cf. Isa. xli. 8 and note the change of אֶהְבֶּה to אֶהוּבִי, dictated by the metre.

Note that the V-אהב occurs twice in the last two hemistichs—alluding to the type of the poem which is an '*Ahabhāh*'. An integral feature of the '*Ahabhāh*' in general is the mention of the V-אהב in any form in its last verse.

⁶ Cf. Ezek. xix. 5. עוֹד followed by the perfect with the *wāw* consecutive is anomalous, dictated by the metre.

- 8 Tranquil was I in the days of my youth,
My splendour (abiding) in the House of Antiquity.
- 9 Now, having wandered away from my abode,
I carry no ephod in my hand.
- 10 I found no vision, o my lords,
Since I strayed far and wide.
- 11 Where is the Beloved One who accompanied me—
(The Beloved One) whose desire at that time was to perform great deeds?
- 12 Having fled from my banqueting-hall—
(Where did he land) if not amongst the exiled?
- 13 The hardships have dismayed me—
(The hardships) which I willingly bowed (myself) to bear.
- 14 Since they weigh upon my shoulders
There is no change in my increasing sorrow.
- 15 My heart (yearns) for the Epoch of Wonders—
For the Epoch reserved for (the renewal of my) glory.
- 16 To You shall I fly for help,
(Knowing that Your) love for Your Valued Treasure is given freely.
- 17 Though defeated, I still clasp my sword—
Nay, my solemn request, my melodious prayer.
- 18 My face is set towards my destination—
To my country (where) kingship is (destined) to be renewed,
- 19 Expecting (there to behold) the Herald and my king,
(And thus) will end a hope deferred.
- 20 (Due) to This-my-fruit-which-is-sweet-to-my-palate—
(To the) ancestral bond and the ordered covenant—
- 21 I shall hear with my own ears the tidings
(Saying:) "I shall speedily awaken love and compassion,
- 22 "O, ye seed of My beloved Abraham;
"Once more ye will be My peculiar treasure".

Poem 51

This poem, recorded on fol. 46^v of the manuscript, is, like poem 43, a '*Ahabhāh* of the *muwashshah* type. In structure it is similar to poem 43, except for its "leader" *muwashshah* which contains only two rhymes, *māh* and *bhāh*, followed by the four "led" *muwashshahat*.

Its metre is -- u -- / -- u -- for the *delāthôth* of both *muwashshahat* and strophes and - u -- / - - u -- for all their *sôgherîm*.

The name אברהם is spelt acrostically in the following order: the first letter, the '*aleph*', at the beginning of the first *muwashshah*,

and the remaining four letters at the beginning of the four strophes, respectively.

Who is this Abraham? Poets named Abraham who may be considered as possible authors of a poem such as ours—which is incorporated in a manuscript dating from the beginning of the fourteenth century¹—are Abraham Ibn Ezra;² Abraham Haḥazzān of Gerona; and Abraham Abulaphia, the mystic of Saragossa.³ All are poets of renown whose poems gained places in *Maḥazôrîm* of the Spanish rite. However, a comparison of our poem with the relatively large number of poems known to have been written by Abraham Ibn Ezra, on the one hand, and the relatively few of the extant poems of Haḥazzān and Abulaphia,⁴ on the other, tends to suggest that the former was its author rather than either of the two latter. The following are a few of the features peculiar to Abraham Ibn Ezra's poems which are manifest in our poem but absent from those of the other two:

(a) References to prophets and prophecy. Allusions to prophets, invoking their utterances on delivery from exile, etc., which are quite prevalent in Jewish liturgical poems of all types,

¹ See WHMS, p. 243. See also above p. 238.

² Born in Tudela in 1092 he went to Italy about 1140 where he stayed for some eight years. In 1154, when Henry II succeeded to the throne of England, we find Ibn Ezra in Angers, the centre of Anjou. In 1158 he came to London where he found some followers and where he composed his *Yesôdh Môrâ* and conceived his *Iggereth ha-Shabbâth*. He died in 1167 (in England?). (For further details of Ibn Ezra in London, see Cecil Roth, *The Intellectual Activities of Medieval English Jewry*, pp. 19–20.)

Ibn Ezra is known in the Christian world mainly as an exegete and grammarian, but in fact he was equally eminent as a scientist and poet. His large number of both secular and sacred poems have not, however, as yet been collected in one volume and from time to time new poems are published. Since D. Kahana's (first) edition in 1894 of his poems there have appeared five new groups of his poems, among them those in *Yedi'ôth* . . . vi. 1–45 (by H. Brody) and *Sinai*, xxi. 71–84 (by N. Ben-Menahem). A recent publication is "An unpublished poem by Abraham Ibn Ezra" in *Between East and West*, pp. 107–11 (by S. M. Stern).

³ Both of the thirteenth century. For the likelihood of thirteenth-century poets being included in our manuscript see p. 240, n. 4.

⁴ Even if one identified Abulaphia with the poet Abraham ben Shemu'el (for this possibility, see Schirmann ii, pp. 454 f. and 457) the total number would still be small.

including those of the Spanish School of 1020–1150,¹ have a strong idiosyncratic ring in Ibn Ezra's poems, rendering them easily distinguishable from those of other writers. Considering prophecy to be an inseparable part of the divine,² Ibn Ezra approaches it pleadingly and frequently urges that sympathy should be shown for the suffering of his people. In our poem there are two references of this nature, the first in lines 1–2 and the second in line 14a. Similar to the first are those references in Ibn Ezra's poems in which there comes first, as in our poem, an expression of sorrow concerning the state of oppression, followed by words containing in various forms the roots נבא, חזה, דבר, along with כתב or חתם, and sometimes also רשם or חקק or, again, שמר in the passive participle. The following are a few examples of this: "How long³ will they sustain derision . . . ? How (can the) . . . thirst for the sealed prophetic oracle⁴ (be prolonged?)"⁵ And again: ". . . Why, then, is the Epoch of Redemption of a scattered people late to come? Behold . . . , in its enslavement its heart is fixed on the writing which the prophet has written."⁶ Prophets and prophecies are given full play in Ibn Ezra's *Ge'ullāh*,⁷ beginning with אם אויבי.⁸ Here three prophets, Isaiah, Ezekiel and Daniel, are solicitously called upon, and the lines with reference to Isaiah, freely rendered, run "I have studied the prophets' books; and Isaiah's oracle, saying 'Salvation is at hand',⁹ has come to my notice. But (alas!) generation after generation elapses and God's people is still pain smitten; its fall continues for the last thousand years." The second reference alluded to, in line 14a where prophecy is invoked (the verbs used resembling those used in the first instance) along with expressions of a belief in ultimate deliverance,

¹ Cf. e.g. S. Hannagid's prophetic vision (Schirmann, I, poem 21). Cf. also Gabirol, iii, poems 4, line 27 and 14, line 18; ZYH, iii. 56, 280.

² See Ibn Ezra on Ps. cxxxix. 18.

³ The expression עד כמה וכמה which is used here adds to the linguistic resemblance which exists between this line and line 1a of our poem.

⁴ The Hebrew is בְּדִבְרֵי נְבוּאָה חֲתוּמָה (צמא . . .), for which read perhaps (. . .) לְדִבְרֵי; cf. also line 2b of our poem and note the reference to the *nomen rectum* in both cases. See n. 5, p. 251 on the Hebrew text.

⁵ Brody, *Yedi'ôth*, vi, poem 26.

⁶ Ibid. poem 15.

⁷ For the meaning of this term see WHMS, p. 249, n. 4.

⁸ Schirmann, i, poem 279.

⁹ See Isa. lvi. 1.

resembles references made by Ibn Ezra elsewhere in his poems: "(Though) shattered . . . , it still hopes for the . . . Redeemer, (for), lo, here is His writing in which are embodied the signatures of so many prophets."¹ And again: "You, who are considered dead in captivity, avail yourself of balm—the product of seers and prophets. The utterances enshrined in their written visions (will surely) heal (your) pain."²

(b) The dialogue. The dialogue in its rudimentary stage was not uncommon in both sacred³ and secular poetry⁴ preceding that of Ibn Ezra. However, it was Ibn Ezra, ever eager to introduce innovations in Hebrew letters, who cultivated dialogue, giving it a more developed form. And while he is known to have introduced in secular poems fully-fledged dialogues between various objects representing abstract ideas,⁵ he seems to have introduced a new subject into the embryonic liturgical dialogue—a subject related to the religious disputations forced upon the Jews from time to time by the Christians.⁶ One of Ibn Ezra's poems which appears to refer to these Christian-Jewish polemics is that which contains the following lines: "Many wonder why a people that worshipped its God all the days and hoped for the Year of Redemption . . . has not lived long enough (to see it come about). (To this) I answered them. . . ."⁷ A more obvious polemical poem of this kind, recalling lines 5–7 of our

¹ *Mibhhar*, p. 198.

² Schirmann, I., poem 276.

³ Here it usually assumes the form of a conversation between God and the people of Israel, a conversation animated by similar Midrashic questions and answers. For traces of this type of dialogue in poems of the Palestinian School, cf. e.g. Qallir (*Mibhhar*, pp. 44–5), and in those of the Spanish School, cf. Gabirol, iii. 11–12; 13–14, and ZYH, iii. 166–7; 213–14.

⁴ See Yellin, pp. 311–19 *passim*. This practice seems to have been influenced by the Arabs (see *ibid.* pp. 310–11).

⁵ Cf. e.g. his poems, the one containing a dispute between summer and winter; the other between beasts and man; and the other between bread and wine, etc. (Kahana, i, poems 105–8).

⁶ References to these polemics without, however, the dialogue form given them by Ibn Ezra, are not rare in liturgical pieces (as, indeed, they are not rare in other branches of Hebrew literature of the Middle Ages). Cf. e.g. the poem beginning with *אמת מכל איך* by the ninth-century 'Amittay ben Shephat'yaḥ of Oria, Italy (*Mibhhar*, p. 47). Cf. also the poem by Ibn Ezra's German contemporary 'Ephrayim ben Yizhaq of Regensburg (Habermann, *Yed'oth* . . . iv. 135–6).

⁷ Schirmann, I., poem 276.

poem, is the one that comprises a string of questions and answers exchanged between Zion (*'Amerāh Zīyyôn*) and the Enemy (*'Āmar 'Ōyēbh*).¹ Here we have such lines put into the mouth of the Enemy as: "Where is, pray, (where is) your God? Let Him arise and save you!"; "The hope of the Exalted Children has gone . . .; the strength of my hand has overpowered their Rock"; "Your prophets are no more . . .; what are you hoping for?" Our poem also seems to allude to the same enemy (in our text *Zar*) who, too, utters biting words against God, His people and His prophet to whom he refers sarcastically as *pelônî*. Perhaps also the words "Arrogant people have come to slander me" (line 8a) refer to the same enemy. Again, the words put into the mouth of Zion saying: "God's enemies, have you not heard His prophets' oracles? . . .; how, then, (dare you) taunt His law? . . .; Now He will rouse His mighty right arm and destroy you", recall lines 14-16 in our poem, spoken by God to the Mistress.

(c) The ellipsis. The ellipsis was practised as a literary device by Ibn Ezra in common with Hebrew poets of the Spanish School in general² in the following manner: Biblical phrases were interwoven in the lines of poetry but words, one or more,³ were omitted from them. These were expected to be supplied by the reader, who was supposed to possess a thorough knowledge of the Bible. The aim was to occasion in the reader's mind a feeling of surprise and of resulting satisfaction when he was able to supply the omitted words and thus produce what seemed, in their view, an aesthetic response. Ibn Ezra, however, is known to have employed this device more freely than many other poets.⁴ In our poem it is outstanding. Though comparatively short, the poem comprises as many as five ellipses, all connected with Biblical passages. These occur in lines 1a, 6b, 7b, 8b, and 22b.

(d) A peculiar grammatical rule affecting metre. A grammatical rule touched upon by Ibn Ezra in his commentary on

¹ *Yalqût ha-Piyyûṭîm* by A. Mirski, p. 258.

² This was apparently influenced by Arab poets. Ellipses are, however, not unknown, though in a different form, in the Hebrew Bible. See Yellin, pp. 206-7.

³ Gabirol is known to have made use also of other types of omission. See Yellin, pp. 208-9.

⁴ See Yellin, pp. 213-14.

Lev. x. 19 and formulated in various places of his *M'oznayîm* and *Zahôth*,¹ teaches that a *shewā* is mobile only if the letter under which there is the *shewā* has a *dāghēsh* or if the *shewā* belongs to the first of two identical letters (e.g. הלֵלֵךְ); otherwise, once it is preceded by a vowel it is always quiescent. It is true that in practice, as illustrated in many of his poems, Ibn Ezra did not observe the rule with consistency. In our poem it is applied in (2b, 3a), 6a, 6b, 8b, 10a (11b, 12a), 14b (16a, 16b, 17a and 20a).²

(e) Rhyming. Ibn Ezra is known to have held definite views about rhymes in Hebrew poetry, the views being reflected in his commentary on Ecc. v. 1. Again, in his famous epigram *לֹא תַחֲרוּ בְשׁוּר וְחִמּוּר*, etc.³ we see his taste for the so-called Proper Rhyme,⁴ which generally requires the identity of two of its terminating letters in addition to the identity of one of their vowels or vocalic letters. These views, which do not seem to be contradicted by the rhymes exhibited in his other poems,⁵ were held equally by the writer of the poem under question.

(f) Other peculiarities. For other peculiarities in the poem which appear also to be those of Ibn Ezra, see nn. 5, 7 (p. 251), 5, 7 (p. 252), 11 (p. 254), and 3 (p. 255) on the Hebrew text.

If the suggested authorship be accepted, it should be added that the poem cannot be said to rank among the better of Ibn Ezra's poems. This constantly wandering polyhistor could not but write a good deal of his works in haste, his poems not excepted. The poem under review seems to have been written in this way; it is not sufficiently polished and shows a number of shortcomings. Yet, it deserves a thorough study for some of its tender devotional lines, and particularly for its historical and philological content.

¹ See M. Wilensky, *Sēpher Sāphāh Berūrāh le-R. Abraham Ibn Ezra in Devir*, ii. 285.

² For the application of the rule by Ibn Ezra elsewhere, cf. among others, Schirmann, i, poems 253, line 3; 260, lines 10, 22, and 24; 263, line 6; 264 line 5; 266, line 1.

³ A play on Deut. xxii. 10, where we read . . . לֹא תַחֲרוּשׁ "do not plough . . ."

⁴ Known in Medieval Hebrew as *Harûz rā'ûy*.

⁵ See I. Davidson, *Maphtēah Harûzîm* in J. Q. R. xxx. 4, pp. 301-5.

אַהֲבָה

- 1 אֶרֶךְ זְמַנִּי כָמָה וְכָמָה²
- סֵר הוֹד וּפְנָה שְׁמֶשׁ וּבָא³
- נָחַר גְּרוֹנִי יָבֵשׁ בְּצָמָא⁴
- לְדָבָר אֲמוּנָה שְׁנֹכְתָבָה⁵
- 3 בִּשְׁבִי אֵיחָל עַד בֹּא דְבָרִי⁶
- זְמִים וְשָׁנִים אֵין לִי דְמִי
- יֵרָא וְזוּחַל⁷ שְׁבֹתִי⁸ בְּצִירִי
- לָקַח מַעֲנָה⁹ כָּל נַעֲמִי
- 5 אֵיךְ צָר יְנַהֵל¹⁰ עֲמוֹ דְּבִירִי
- יֹאמֶר¹¹ לְבָנִים מִי צוּר וְזָמִי¹²

¹ In post-Biblical Hebrew *כמה* is often used in the sense of "a certain number", Hebrew pieces of the Spanish School, under the influence of parallel Arabic pieces, connoting pre-ordained events and their complexities, the causes of which are unknown, originated as they are by some mysterious power. Here "time" implies the pre-ordained trouble-laden exilic period, which, according to the poet's calculation based on "scripture of truth" (see nn. 5 and 6 below), should have already come to an end. Cf. lines 1-2 of poem 43 and see n. 4 thereon. See also p. 247.

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³ Cf. Dan. x. 8 and Isa. lx. 20. ⁴ Cf. Ps. lxix. 4 and Isa. xli. 17. ⁵ Cf. "I will show thee that which is noted in the scripture of truth" (Dan. x. 21). See pp. 245-8. *שְׁנֹכְתָבָה* (which refers to the *nomen rectum*), rather than *שְׁנֹכְתָב*, is due to the metre. However, cf. the somewhat similar cases in Judges xix. 24; Jer. xlv. 4. Cf. also Ibn Ezra's *עֲתִידוֹת וּבִאוֹת* . . . *דְּבָרֵי נְבוֹאוֹת* (*Yedi'ôth*, vi, poem 26, line 20). See p. 247, n. 4. ⁶ Cf. *דְּבָר אֲמוּנָה* of line 2b.

⁷ Cf. Job xxxii. 6 and see Ibn Ezra on this verse.

⁸ In the manuscript *shîn* with *qāmeẓ*.

⁹ In the manuscript *מַעֲנִים*, an obvious mistake.

¹⁰ = *אֵיךְ יְנַהֵל*, the attributive relation being expressed here by simple co-ordination.

¹¹ In the manuscript *יֹאמֶר*, a reading which violates the metre.

¹² In the manuscript *וְזָמִי*. My vocalization *וְזָמִי* tallies with the accepted grammatical rules. The *qāmeẓ* here, however, is considered from the metrical

חֹזְכֶם פְּלוּנִי¹ פָּתָה בְּעֶרְמָה 6

אֲתַחֲכֶם וְעָלָה² שְׂאָא כִּי צָבָא

אֶל³ קָם לְהַגִּיא לִבִּי אָח וְאָמָה 7

אֲךְ זֹאת דִּעֻי נָא כִּי נִכְזָבָה⁴

רְכֹסִי אֲנָשִׁים⁵ בָּאוּ לְרִגְלִי 8

אָמָרָה כְּבוֹדָה תִּוָּךְ בֵּית שְׁכִי⁶

point of view as a *shewā* mobile, an example of poetical licence. The last two hemistichs seem to allude to Christian-Jewish religious disputations often held in the Middle Ages (see following note). For the last three words, cf. Ps. xviii. 32 and Ezek. x. 8.

¹ The pejorative sense meant to be applied here to this word is obvious. See p. 249.

² Elliptical for וְעָלָה מִזֶּה. See Ibn Ezra on עָלָה of Gen. xlix. 4. See p. 249.

³ For אל as characterizing mighty phenomena in nature, cf. הררי אל (Ps. xxxvi. 7). Cf. also Ps. xviii. 11 and Isa. xiv. 13. Here אל seems to be taken more literally (cf. מחנה אלהים, Gen. xxxii. 3). See the translation. In this respect, Ibn Ezra's בני אל (in the poem beginning with צִיּוֹן; see p. 249), which refers to the exalted children of Israel, is of interest, for in Ps. xxix. 1 בני אל mean "sons of the mighty". (Comparing, however, Hos. ii. 1, it may be elliptical for בני אל חי. For ellipses in Ibn Ezra's poems see p. 249.)

⁴ Cf. Ps. xxxiii. 10 and Num. xxxii. 7.

⁵ Lit. "brother and maid servant". "Brother", however, appears to be here an emblematical term for Esau (cf. Mal. i. 2), namely, the Edomites, and "maid servant" for the mother of Ishmael (cf. Gen. xi. 10). (Halevi used these two terms similarly. Cf. ZYH, iii. 562.) The phrase seems to reflect, as do many similar phrases in poems of the Spanish School, the political state of Spain at the time of the composition of the poem, the inhabitants being ruled alternately by Arabs (Ishmaelites) and Christians (Edomites). Note that the Almoravids' conquest at the end of the eleventh century, which compelled many Jews to escape from Muslim Andalusia to Christian Spain, was not so far-off. In this respect, Ibn Ezra's "... Should I (venture to) go to my Servant (= Ishmael, the son of Hagar, the maid servant; cf. Gen. xvi. 16), I am beaten, and should I come to my Brother, I am smitten" (Kahana, i, poem 130) as well as his "... I am enslaved ... to the sons of both Brother and Maid Servant" (in his *Reshûth* beginning with אֲשַׁבַּע בְּעַת אֲרַבָּה; *Mibhhar*, p. 195) deserve attention both for their content and for the identical emblematical terms they employ. See p. 250, item f. See also p. 261, nn. 3 and 7.

⁶ Elliptical for תִּוָּחַלְתֶּם נִכְוָה (cf. Job xli. 1). For ellipses in the poem, see p. 249, item c.

⁷ Cf. Ps. xxxi. 21 and note the slight deviation. The meaning given here to this dubious phrase (see BDB, v. רָכַס) is of exegetic interest. See Ibn Ezra on it in Psalms. For its possible historical reference, see p. 249.

- בְּנֵי גֵרָשִׁים מִבֵּית זְבוּלִי⁸ 9
- וַיָּקֶר וַחֲמֹדַת אֶרֶץ יִצְחָק⁹
- תּוֹפְשִׁים קְדָשִׁים וַיֹּאמְרוּ לִי 10
- בָּא יוֹם פְּקוּדָהּ שְׁפִלִי שְׁכִי⁹
- אֲנִי אֲדֹנֵי רַחֵם אֲיוֹמָה⁹ 11
- מִהֵיוֹת שְׁוִינָה⁹ לֹא שָׁנָבָה⁹
- בְּכֶאֱב וַעֲוֹנֵי נִשְׁאָה כָּלִמָּה 12
- בְּדָד בְּחֹנָה הִיא יוֹשְׁבָה⁹
- נִהְרְבוֹת דְּבָרִים עֲזָבִי גְבִירָה 13
- עָלָה בְּאֲזִנֵּי קוֹל צִעְקָה¹⁰

⁸ For my translation, cf. the Qal in Ps. xv. 3. In the manuscript לרגלי (*gímel* without *dāghēsh*), a reading which makes no sense here. See preceding note.

⁹ The hemistich seems to play on כְּבוֹדָה בַּת מֶלֶךְ (Ps. xlv. 14), and כְּבוֹדָה is likely to stand here as an adjective (cf. Ezek. xxiii. 41) qualifying the omitted noun. See p. 249, end of item c.

¹ In 1 Kings viii. 13 (cf. 2 Chron. vi. 2), בית זְבוּל refer to the "house built by Solomon for God to abide in".

² The manuscript reads וַחֲמֹדָה וַאֲרָץ. The metre, however, dictates here אֶרֶץ . . . The emendation, then, of its preceding word to read וַחֲמֹדַת, in the construct state, needs no justification. The reference here is to the Holy Land; cf. Ezek. xx. 6 and Dan. xi. 16.

³ The manuscript reads תּוֹפְשִׁי, a reading hard to explain in this context.

⁴ Cf. Hos. ix. 7.

⁵ Cf. Jer. xiii. 18, where שְׁפִל is in the Hiph'il. The manuscript reads, strangely, שְׁפִלִי.

⁶ An emblematical term for Israel (cf. Cant. vi. 4), extensively used by poets of the Palestinian School and to a lesser extent by those of the Spanish School. Cf. e.g. Halevi's דְּלֵה אֵימָה (ZYH, iii. 643) and again חֵלֶץ אֵימָה (ibid.).

⁷ Cf. Deut. xxviii. 37.

⁸ The manuscript reads here שְׁנָבָה, in the Qal. However, the whole phrase, echoing הִיא רַחֲמָה (Hos. i. 6), I have pointed it as a Pu'al. (Note the absence of the pausal form, due to the metre.)

⁹ Cf. Lam. i. 1.

¹⁰ A masculine segholate noun (cf. צִדְקָה, צִדֵּק). More likely, however, infinitive construct Qal. Cf. לִקְוֹל זַעֲקָה (Isa. xiii. 19). This line and a few other

שָׁם¹ בְּסִפְּרִים חֲזוֹת שְׁמוֹרָה² 14

שִׁפְטָךְ יִי וּמַחֲזִיקֶךָ

אֶשָּׂא וְאָרִים יְדֵי מְהֵרָה 15

לְשִׁפּוֹךְ חֲרוֹנִי עַל דּוֹחֶךָ

וּבָרַב גְּאוּנִי לַעֲשׂוֹת גִּקְמָה 16

בְּבִנְיָ עֲדִינָה⁵ אֶת־יִצְכָּה

לְשִׁמִּי תִתְּנִי⁶ שִׁירָה⁷ גְּעִימָה 17

כִּי עַתָּה חֲתַנָּה⁸ הֵן קִרְבָּה

מֵרַ וְאַהֲלִים קִנָּה וְקִדָּה 18

עַם קִנְמוֹן בְּשֵׁם תִּרְקַחֲנִי

נָסוּ צִלְלִים כְּיוֹם¹⁰ וְהִפְּדָה 19

אוֹתָךְ גְּבִיר בּוֹ עוֹד תִּשְׁמַחֲנִי

וְהִמּוֹן נִבָּלִים¹¹ שְׁמוֹךְ לִגְדָה 20

מִלְכִּי בַחֲרָבוֹ יָשִׁים סִחִי

lines in the poem recall parts of Halevi's poem beginning with קולכם בני ציון (ZYH, iii. 227-8) in a few ways. In this respect, cf. another of Halevi's poem, *ibid.* p. 240.

¹ In the manuscript, by mistake, שם.

² See p. 247.

³ This, if read אדני, has the metrical scheme - - ♀, which is in conformity with that of the *sôgherîm*.

⁴ In the manuscript בִּבְכִי, a senseless reading, which is also denied by the metre. See following note.

⁵ An emblematical term for the "daughter of the Chaldeans" (cf. Isa. xlvii. 8). Here the reference is to any oppressor. It is similarly used by Halevi (ZYH, iii. 271); Gabirol, in his elegy on Hai Gaon, (Gabirol, i, poem 113); and Yizhāq Ibn Gayyat (Schirmann, i, poem 125). It is obvious that the copyist did not understand the meaning of עדינה here; this led him to the corruption of its preceding word.

⁶ The manuscript reads תתני, a reading denied by the metre. See following note.

⁷ Cf. Judges v. 11.

⁸ Viz. the return of the ancient glory. See Cant. Rab. on Cant. iii. 11 (end).

⁹ Cf. Cant. iv 14 and Exod. xxx. 23-5.

¹⁰ = היום; cf. Gen. xxv. 31.

¹¹ Cf. המית גבליך ("the noise of the viols") (Isa. xiv. 11) (cf. also Amos v. 23) and note the play on words—a play bordering on a pun, and in its sharpness recalling that of Ibn Ezra's known puns. See p. 250, item (f).

יֹם צַר חֲרוֹנִי¹ אֶהְבֶּה קְדוּמָה 21

אֶזְכֹּר לַיּוֹנָה² וְאֶשׁוּבָבָה

הוֹר³ בֵּת הַמּוֹנִי גַם אֶקְרָאֶהֶּמָה 22

יָפִית וּמָה נַעֲמַת אֶהְבֶּה⁴

'Ahabhāh

- 1 My (bad) lot has lasted long;
Dignity has gone, and the sun declined and set.
- 2 My throat is parched dry, thirsting
For the faithful oracle which was once recorded.
- 3 Tarrying in captivity, I wait for the fulfilment of the prophetic word.
Rest has not been mine for days and years.
- 4 Pain-stricken and shrunken-away with fear, I sit
(Reflecting on) the torturer who has taken all my treasure.
- 5 How is it that the adversary, who leads his people (into) my Holy of Holies,
Says to (my) sons: 'Who, who pray, is your rock?
- 6 'Some fellow, some prophet of yours has cunningly misled
'You and vanished. It is not true that a divine host
- 7 'Has arisen to restrain the heart-desire of Edomites and Ishmaelites.
'Know well that (your hope) is in vain.'
- 8 —"Arrogant people have come to slander me,"
Said the Stately Lady while confined in the prison house.
- 9 "My sons were expelled from my cherished abode—
"And preciousness and the delight of the Land of Beauty

¹ Syntactically difficult, but apparently meaning that although His mind is full of distress and is occupied with measures to punish the oppressor severely, the old love for Israel will not be forgotten.

² Emblematical term for Israel. Cf. Cant. ii. 14.

³ A sing. masc. noun from the assumed הוֹרִים, used, as far as one can ascertain, only by Ibn Ezra. (Cf. Kahana, i, poem 74; Brody, *Yedi'ôth*, poem 25, line 5.) Cf. ברכת הוֹרִי (Gen. xlix. 26) and see its rendering in Targum. See also Jewish Medieval commentators thereon. It is used in the sense of "parents" also in Midrashic literature. הוֹרִי "his father", of Med. Rab. on Deut. i. 17, however, may be also from the singular הוֹרָה (cf. e.g. קוֹנו "his owner", "his Lord" in post-Biblical Hebrew). See p. 250, item (f).

⁴ Cf. Jer. i. 19.

⁵ Disregarding the reading of the MS., I have placed the word *māh* at the end of the hemistich. This is supported by both metre and rhyme. See following note.

⁶ This hemistich is a faithful quotation of Cant. vii. 6, minus its last word. For the V אֶהְבֶּה in the last verse, see p. 244, n. 5.

- 10 "Are (now) held by sodomites, who say to me
 " 'The day of visitation is come, stay low! ' "
- 11 "Ah, now! O Lord, have mercy on the (once) Awe-inspiring Woman,
 " So that she does not become a by-word, (and known as) The Undignified.
- 12 "Pining-away with affliction, she has borne (her) ignominy—
 " While sitting solitary, (searched and) tried."
- 13 —" 'O, Mistress, desist from multiplying words;
 " 'The sound of thy cry has reached My ear.
- 14 " 'There in the Books a prophetic vision is enshrined, (saying):
 " " (I) God, thy judge and lawgiver,
- 15 " "Will speedily raise and lift up My hand,
 " "To pour out My wrath on thy oppressors.
- 16 " "And I shall take a stand with the greatness of My excellence
 " "To execute vengeance upon the children of Her Who is given to Pleasures.
- 17 " "Thou wilt utter to My name a melodious song,
 " "For the time of espousals is surely at hand.
- 18 " "Myrrh and aloes, aromatic reed and cassia
 " "Thou wilt compound along with cinnamon of sweet odour.
- 19 " "On this day shadows will flee away, and the Master will redeem
 " "Thee, (and) thou shalt rejoice in Him once more.
- 20 " "And the multitude of ignoble men who made thee defiled—
 " "My king with his sword will make them (as) offscourings.
- 21 " " (And though) a day of distress and anger for Me, the old love
 " "For (My) Dove will be remembered, and I will bring back
- 22 " "The many family-heads of My Daughter, calling out:
 " " 'How fair and how pleasant art thou, O Love! ' " "

Poem 72

This poem, a *Muḥarrak*,¹ recorded on fols. 51^r–51^v of the manuscript, is also included with some slight variations in B.M. I. (42^r).² It is, like the two preceding poems, 43 and 51, of the *muwashshah* type and resembles them as far as the number of its *muwashshahat* and its strophes and their respective lines is concerned. With regard to the rhyme the scheme is as follows: 1a, the *deleth*, which terminates with the syllable *rī*, leads all the first *delāthôth* of the other *muwashshahat*; 1b, the *sôghēr* of the first line of the same *muwashshah*, which ends in *lô*, leads the corresponding *sôgherîm*; and so on. 1b has an inner rhyme, *rī*,

¹ See WHMS, p. 248, n. 8.

² See WHMS, p. 251, n. 3.

rhyming with the last syllable of 1a, and 2b an inner rhyme, *lî*, rhyming with the last syllable of 2a—rhymes which are followed by the corresponding hemistichs of the other *muwashshaḥat*. The strophes have independent rhymes for the *delāthôth* and *sôgherîm* respectively, with the first and the third strophes, however, resembling.¹ The metre of the *muwashshaḥat* is rather mixed; it is either – – υ / – υ – for the *delāthôth*, and – – υ / – υ – – υ – υ / for the *sôgherîm*, or – – υ / – – – for the *delāthôth*, and – υ – υ / – – υ / – – – for its *sôgherîm* with the last predominating. That of the strophes is – – υ / – υ – for the *delāthôth* and – υ – υ for the *sôgherîm*.

The name of the author is not embodied acrostically in the poem and it is difficult to conjecture who he may have been. The poem is of outstanding merit, and some of the ideas contained in it are known to have been favourites with Yehudah Halevi as expressed in his *Kuzari* and supplemented in many of his poems. Man's yearnings to God and his inadequacy to comprehend His deep secrets, His performances on the earth below while abiding in the heavens above (lines 1–7), is one such idea.² History as a corroborating testimony of the existence of God (line 8) who manifests Himself through His miraculous deeds (originally a Scriptural notion)—man perceiving His workings rather than His qualities (lines 9–10)—is another such idea.³ Again, the notion of offering prayers to God in a house of worship rather than in private ("Souls long . . . to possess a seat in Thy house of prayer") so as spiritually to be more fitted to experience the impact of the Divine Presence (lines 13–15), finds also its parallel in Halevi's works.⁴ However, conceptions such as these, with the possible exception of the last, can also be traced in poems by Solomon Ibn Gabirol⁵ and, to a lesser extent, in those by Yizḥaq Ibn Gayyat,⁶ Mosheh Ibn Ezra⁷ and Abraham Ibn Ezra,⁸ all of

¹ Cf. P. Kahle's view about the pronunciation of the 2nd per. sing. masc. in *The Cairo Geniza*, 2nd ed., p. 172. ² See WHMS, pp. 255, 257.

³ Among others, cf. *Kuzari*, ii. 2; ZYH, iii. 120, 121, 129, 133, 658.

⁴ Among others, cf. *Kuzari*, iii. 18 ("Community prayer is preferable for many reasons . . ."); ZYH, i. 19; iii. 137, 181, 299, 489–90(1), 686, 691.

⁵ Born about 1021 and died between 1053–8. He lived mainly in Saragossa. See n. 5, p. 259. ⁶ Born at Lucena in 1038, died at Cordoba in 1089.

⁷ See p. 239, n. 4.

⁸ See p. 246, n. 2.

whom have one or more poems in our manuscript.¹ The allusion to the political situation in Spain, harmfully affecting her Jewish communities, which seems to be contained in lines 16-17 of the poem and is common in Halevi's poems, is also featured in numerous poems of these four authors.²

מוחרף

- | | |
|---|---|
| אחלי לְצוּרִי | 1 |
| אחלי בְּשׁוּרִי לְפַעֲלוֹ | |
| סוֹד יָקָר וּפְלֵאִי | 2 |
| מָה אֲנִי בְּשִׁכְלִי לְכָל־כָּל | |
| שׁוֹטְטוּ מְזֻמוֹת לְדַעְתָּךְ | 3 |
| גָּבְהוּ מְרוֹמוֹת ¹⁰ לְשִׁבְתָּךְ | 4 |

¹ Ibn Gabirol, 8; Yizhāq Gayyat, 11(?); Abraham Ibn Ezra, 7; Mosheh Ibn Ezra, 1. See WHMS, p. 252, n. 5. ² See p. 252, n. 5.

³ **אחל**, the existence and meaning of which are, according to modern lexicographers, dubious and which is indeclinable (as are, e.g. **מתי** and **אולי**), is seen here in its declined form, with the approximate meaning given it in our translation. A literal translation of **אחלי** would then be "my desire". This is in keeping with the view held by medieval Hebrew grammarians (see, e.g. Jannah, *Sēpher Hashorāshīm*, 22, and Qimḥi, *Sēpher Hashorāshīm*, V⁻ **אחל**). **אחלי** with this connotation is common in the poetry of Halevi (cf. e.g. ZYH, iii. 200, 415, 542, 588, 541) and in that of Abraham Ibn Ezra's (cf. e.g. among others . . . **אלהי תהלתי** in the poem beginning with **אחלי נפשי**).

⁴ For its meaning, cf. Hos. xiv. 9, where it is used in the accusative. See following note.

⁵ The metre requires here a *shewā* mobile, hence **לפעלו** and not . . . **את**. Cf. however, Ps. cxlv. 44 and Ezek. xxxiv. 4. ⁶ The metre dictates this pointing.

⁷ For the form and meaning, cf. Judges xiii. 18.

⁸ Here in the sense given it in Prov. i. 4, where it implies discretion. See n. 7, p. 259.

⁹ For Biblical echoes of the last line, though without the peculiar philosophical touch, cf. Amos viii. 12 and Dan. xii. 4. It is worthy of note here that the **V⁻ שוט** in the Polel form often connotes in medieval Jewish philosophical works the meaning of "reflect", "examine", "mentally observe" (cf. e.g. Maimonides, *Guide of the Perplexed*, iii. 19).

¹⁰ Instead of **מְרוֹמִים**, a form not uncommon in Medieval Hebrew poetry. See end of n. 5, p. 259.

מִלֹּאֲכָתָךְ	וְעָלִי אֲדָמוֹת	5
	מִי תִכְנֶן יִצְוִרִי	6
וְטִלְטְלוּ	מִי אֶסֶף צְרוּרִי	
	יֵשׁ פּוֹעֵל לְפַעְעָלִי	7
מִכְלָלָלוּ	לֹא אֲנִי בְּשָׁלִי	
וַיֹּאמְרוּ	שֶׁאֵלּוּ לִימִים	8
יִסְפְּרוּ	מַעֲשִׂים עֲצוּמִים	9
יִדְבְּרוּ	מַחֲשָׁבוֹת עֲרוּמִים	10

¹ Meaning similar to that which it has in Ps. lxxv. 4, but here applied to the human body. See following notes.

² In Job xvii. 7, where it occurs in the plural, the reference is to the members of the body. In early Hebrew liturgy of the first/third centuries it occurs often in the sense used here by the poet.

³ For its meaning in Biblical Hebrew, cf. 2 Sam. xvii. 13 and Amos ix. 9. Here it is obviously taken figuratively in the sense of "dust" or "earth", from which, according to Jewish tradition, the body of man is moulded. See following note.

⁴ Post-Biblical for "move", "shake", "handle". Here the reference is to the process of kneading matter and pressing it together into a mass. The poet no doubt is mindful of "at three hours of the day He collected (כָּנַס) his dust, at four He moulded him, at five He shaped him, at six He made him into a body, etc." (Lev. Rab., beg. of s. 29). For the last 2 hemistichs, cf. Job x. 8-12. See following note.

⁵ שֶׁל, a *hapax* (2 Sam. vi. 7), is disputed (see BDB, p. 1016b). Here it apparently means "fault", "flaw", "inadequacy". It is similarly taken by Jannah and by Qimhi, who derive it from שלה. For the form שֶׁל, cf. קו and צו, Isa. xxviii. 10. The manuscript reads בשלי, *shîn* with *seghôl* and so does B.M.I. (43a), for which cf. 2 Sam. iii. 27. This reading, however, the meaning of which is "in quietness", "privately", makes no sense in our context. Lines 1-7 embody some of Gabirol's ideas contained in a number of his *Reshûyyôth* (see Gabirol, iii, poems 35, 41, 46; cf. especially לשבתך יכילוך of line 3) and in various places of his *Kether Malkhûth* (Gabirol, iii. 62-78). Lines 6-7 echo in particular the greater part of Gabirol's *Baqqāshāh*, beginning with טרם היותי (Gabirol, iii, poem 49). See p. 257.

⁶ Cf. Deut. iv. 32.

⁷ Cf. Job. v. 12, where the reference is derogatory: "He disappointeth the desires of the crafty." Here ערומים (in the manuscript *mem* with *dāgēsh*) is taken in its good sense. Cf. Prov. xiv. 18. See n. 8, p. 258.

חֲזָקָה אֲשׁוּרִי ¹	11
מַעֲשֵׂי בִזְכָּרִי לְהַלְלוֹי	
בּוֹ אֲשַׁכַּח עֲמָלִי	12
בּוֹ דָּרַקְתִּי חֲלִילִי לְסִלְסְלוֹי	
תַּאֲזוּת נְשָׁמוֹת לִזְכָּרְךָ ²	13
לְחִזּוֹת נְעִימוֹת הַדֶּרֶךְ ³	14
לְאַחֲזוֹת מְקוֹמוֹת דְּבִירְךָ ⁴	15
הַתֵּר נָא אֲסוּרִי ⁵	16

¹ The manuscript reads חֲזָקָה אֲשׁוּרִי, but this is denied by both context and rhyme. (Cf. the companion words of אֲשׁוּרִי in lines 1, 6, 16 and 21). B.M.I. reads חֲזָקָה אֲשׁוּרִי. For אֲשׁוּר as fem., cf. Job xxxi. 7.

² A *pluralis excellentiae*. Cf. יִשְׁמַח . . . בְּעוֹשָׁיו (Ps. cxlix. 2). Cf. also Job xxxv. 10; Isa. xxii. 11; and liv. 5. חֲזָקָה אֲשׁוּרִי מַעֲשֵׂי, then, seems to echo מַאֲדוֹנִי מִצְעָדִי (Ps. xxxvii. 23). Cf. also Ps. xxxvii. 31 and xl. 2. The manuscript points מַעֲשֵׂי and the B.M. I. reads מַעֲשֵׂיו, neither yielding any sense.

³ The implication here seems to be "prayer" with which devotional praise to God is inevitably interwoven. The theme of prayer is again in evidence in lines 13–15.

⁴ This is the pointing in the manuscript and, relying on Prov. xxix. 6, I have not altered it.

⁵ For the Pilpel form, cf. Prov. iv. 8. This verb with reference to song, which seems to be based on Cant. Rab. on Cant. i. 1, is used extensively in *piyyûṭim* of the Palestinian School.

⁶ Cf. Isa. xxvi. 8. נִשְׁמוֹת, instead of נַפְשׁ, however, lends the whole phrase a more distinct medieval ring.

⁷ Note the denial of anthropomorphism inherent in the last two lines and cf. Ps. xxvii. 4.

⁸ The manuscript reads בְּדִבְרֶיךָ. This is denied by the metre. Medieval Hebrew poets use דְּבִיר which in the Bible means "Holy of Holies" (cf. e.g. 1 Kings vi. 5), in the sense of "synagogue". Cf. e.g. ZYH, iii. 682, 714. For lines 14–15, cf. "Lord, I have loved the habitation of Thy house etc." However, the verb לְאַחֲזוֹת of line 15, which is applied to places in a house of worship seems to be under a non-Hebrew influence (Arabic?). One can hardly quote here 1 Kings i. 51. In this respect, Halevi's . . . וְסוּב לְאַחֲזוֹת בְּבֵיתְךָ (ZYH, iii. 708) is of interest.

⁹ (The manuscript reads 'aleph with *ḥaṭaph-seghôl*). Cf. Judges xv. 14. Here the reference is to the people's suffering in exile, the account of which is given in lines 16b–17b.

רַב־שָׁקֵל ¹ בְּכוֹרֵי ² בְּמַעְלוֹ ³	
רַב סְבָלִי ⁴ וְחֶבְלִי ⁵	17
עַם רוּעָה אֲוִילִי ⁶ מַחְבָּלוֹ	
וְאֲנִי תַפְלָה ⁸ לְפַעְלִי	18
אִם הִכְאִיב ⁹ וְחֶלְה ¹⁰ בְּמַעְלִי	19
רַחֲמָיו סִגְלָה ¹¹ לְכָל חֶלְי ¹²	20
עוֹד יָשִׁיב וְנִצּוֹרִי ¹³	21
עַם מִבְּצָר וְשׁוֹרִי ¹⁴ יִגְדְּלוֹ	

¹ Qal of רַבב. Cf. Ps. xviii. 15, which according to Ibn Ezra and Qimḥi (V רַבב) is to be understood as "... He multiplied His lightnings and discomfited them".

² Both our manuscript and B.M. I. read שָׁקֵלִי. This does not make sense. Our reading, a (declined) newly-coined segholate noun (cf. שָׁכּוּל, Isa. xlvii. 8 which was, however, not used here for metrical reasons), fits the context very well here. See following note.

³ The last three words seem to reflect יֹאכַל בְּרִיו בְּכוֹר מוֹת (Job xviii. 13) which the poet took, in common with medieval Jewish commentators (Jannah, Rashi, Ibn Ezra and Qimḥi; see also Targum), as meaning "his children will be devoured by an all-consuming death" (the reference being to the death-lord or the death-chief who is great in his power of destruction). I have, however, translated יֹאכַל freely and in keeping with the context. See p. 258.

⁴ A much used word in poetry of the Spanish School. Cf. end of line 19.

⁵ In the manuscript סְכָלִי.

⁶ Both our manuscript and B.M. I. read וְחֶבְלִי. This gives no sense here.

⁷ Cf. Zech. xi. 15, where the reference is to the ruler who led Israel into exile (see Medieval Hebrew commentaries on Zech. xi. 15 and Dan. xi. 2-3). The reflection in lines 16-17 of the changing governments in parts of Spain is obvious. See p. 252, n. 5. In the manuscript, senselessly, רוּעָה.

⁸ Cf. Ps. cix. 4, the noun having here the force of a verb (cf. perhaps, also Ezek. xvii. 12). See SRDT, pp. 252 ff.

⁹ For the lapse into ---, see p. 257.

¹⁰ Cf. Deut. xxix. 21.

¹¹ In Medieval Hebrew passages concerned with medical matters, "remedy", "cure". Cf. e.g. Maimonides, *Pērûsh Ha-Mishnâh*, Sab. 67a.

¹² Thus in the manuscript, which reading I have retained because of the metre.

¹³ In the manuscript יָשִׁיב. For my translation of the whole hemistich, cf. יִשְׂרָאֵל לְהַשִּׁיב וְנִצּוֹרִי (Isa. xlix. 6).

¹⁴ Lit. "a people of the fortress and wall" (וְשׁוֹרִי = וְשׁוֹר). For this conception, cf. Num. xiii. 18-19.

אוֹת חֲשָׁקִי וְדָגְלִי בְּאַהֲלוֹי

Muharrak

- 1 I yearn for my Rock;
I yearn as I look on His creation—
- 2 (A creation full of) rare and ungraspable secrets.
Who am I, with my (mortal) intelligence, to comprehend it?
- 3 (My) devices are astir to gain knowledge of You,
- 4 Whose seat is in the heavens above
- 5 And Whose work is on the earth (below).
- 6 Who has ordered my frame?
Who has collected my elements and moulded them?
- 7 (Lo), there is One who has brought me into being,
But it is not I with my frailty who can fathom Him.
- 8 Enquire of the days (that are past) and they will tell.
- 9 (Nay, His) mighty deeds will relate;
- 10 (His) wise plans will speak.
- 11 My step is growing firm
Through my Maker whom I remember to praise.
- 12 (Absorbed) in Him, I forget my toil,
(Animated) by Him, my flute rings out in His exaltation.
- 13 Souls long for the remembrance of You,
- 14 (Desiring) to behold the fair beauty of Your splendour;
- 15 (Wishing) to possess a seat in Your house of prayer.
- 16 Pray, loosen my bonds!
My overlord, in his treachery, has increased my bereavement
- 17 (And) multiplied my suffering. Lo, my possession
Is destroyed by a people (guided) by a foolish shepherd.
- 18 But I pray to my Maker—
- 19 (Knowing that) though He has pained and ailed (me) because of my un-
faithfulness
- 20 His mercy is a cure for every illness—:

¹ Cf. הפתילים . . . הכר (Gen. xxxviii. 25). Here, however, הכר is given the sense it has in Ruth ii. 10, and פתיל alludes to an object which gives honour to its possessor (see Gen. Rab. s. 85).

² In the manuscript *heth* with *seghôl*.

³ In the manuscript אהלו, which neither makes sense nor is in keeping with the metre. B.M. I. באהלו. The reference here is to the standards and ensigns which the children of Israel pitched about the tabernacle (see Num. ii. 2). Cf. Halevi's דגלי סביב לאהלי (ZYH, iii. 266).

- 21 "May He again restore the Preserved,
 "Making him powerful (as) a well-fortified people,
 22 "May He once more regard my glory,
 "My pleasurable ensign and standard in His tabernacle.

Poem 75

The poem, recorded on fol. 52^r, is a (*Reshûth* to a) *Qaddîsh*.¹ It comprises six *delâthôth*-and-*sôgherîm* lines with the rhyme *nî* for the *delâthôth* and *mekhâ* for the *sôgherîm* and does not contain an acrostic. The metre is -- ∪ / -- ∪ -- for all the hemistichs. We thus have here the metre known in Arabic as *mujthath* and in Hebrew as *ha-qāṭu'a*, a metre not frequently used by Spanish Jewish poets.² In form, content and language it follows the fine tradition established by poets of the Spanish Jewish School. Short as it is (and this type of poem—the *Reshûth*—is usually very short), the poem contains, as do so many Jewish liturgical pieces, allusions to Jerusalem and the Temple³ as well as to the vicissitudes of exile. It terminates with an hemistich which constitutes the Hebrew rendering of the first few Aramaic words of the doxology.⁴

קדיש

אֵלֵי הַלְעֵד מְעוּרִי¹ 1

תִּשְׁכַּח וַיֵּד זִוְעָמִיךָ²

תִּגְבִּיר וַיִּמְרָב וְדוּגִי 2

תִּסְתִּיר פְּנֵי נְעָמְךָ³

¹ See WHMS, p. 250, n. 5.

² Gabirol's *mujthath* poem, beginning with נָחַר בְּקִרְאִי (Gabirol, i, poem 2), is one of the few. ³ See n. 5 below. ⁴ See n. 8, p. 264.

⁵ The allusion seems to be to the Temple. Cf. the Talmudic oath הַמֶּעוֹן, "by the Temple!" (Toseph. Keth. iii. 2). Cf. also Targ. on I Sam. ii. 29, where the ambiguous words צִרְתִּי מֵעוֹן (see, e.g. S. R. Driver, *Book of Samuel*, 2nd edn., pp. 38-9) are rendered בְּבֵית מִקְדָּשִׁי . . . דְּמִקְדָּשִׁי, a rendering reflected in numerous Medieval Jewish commentaries.

⁶ In the manuscript זִוְעָמִיךָ. See n. 6, p. 264. For זִוְעָם as transitive cf. e.g. Prov. xxiv. 24.

⁷ Cf. Ps. xxvii. 9 and xvi. 11. The metre dictates here the observance of the rule about the pausal form, ignored in many other cases in poems of the Spanish School.

- מְבוֹר שְׁכֵי הַעֲלֹנִי 3
 צוּרֵי לֶחֶם לִוְחָמִיךָ¹
 אֵל תַּחֲשׁוּב לִי עֲוֹנִי² 4
 וִיקַדְמוּ בְּרַחֲמֶיךָ³
 מֵה' תִּצְרִיךְ עוֹד וְזִמְנִי⁴ 5
 בְּשִׁבְי עֲצוֹר וְעִמָּךְ⁵
 וּלְמַעַנְךָ⁶ לֹא לְמַעַנִי 6
 תִּקְדֵּשׁ וְתַעֲרִיץ שְׁמֶךָ

Qaddish

- 1 O, my God, will you forget for ever my Habitation
And strengthen the hand of him that denounces you?
- 2 (Will You for ever), because of my great presumptuousness,
Hide Your benevolent face?
- 3 (Pray) O, my Rock, draw me out of the captives' pit;
Do battle with those battling with You.
- 4 Impute no iniquity to me;
And let Your mercy come to meet (me).
- 5 Do not prolong any more my staying captive;
Restrain Your indignation (towards me)
- 6 And for Your sake, not for mine,
Will You (thus) sanctify Your name, inspiring it with awe.

¹ By a twist of Ps. xxxv. 1, where we read "do battle with those battling with me", the idea that Israel's adversaries are God's adversaries was brought out.

² Cf. Ps. xxxii. 2.

³ Elliptical for וִיקַדְמוּנִי. Cf. Ps. lxxix. 8. For ellipses in Spanish Hebrew poetry, see p. 249.

⁴ מֵה' seems to have here the sense it has in its Arabic equivalent. (This sense may be applied to מֵה' in 1 Kings xii. 16; Cant. v. 8; viii. 4. See Jannah, *Sēpher ha-Shorāshīm* on Cant. viii. 4 and Targ. on 1 Kings xii. 16.)

⁵ For the connotation of זִמְנִי, and that of any other nouns implying time, see n. 1, p. 251.

⁶ In the manuscript וְעִמָּךְ, apparently confused with that of line 1b (see nn. 6 and 7, p. 263). The whole hemistich is a rendering of Ps. lxxxv. 4.

⁷ The *pathah* under the 'ayin is considered here as a *shewā* quiescent. The metre is thus not impaired.

⁸ The wording of the hemistich bears on the type of the poem which is a *Qaddish*. Cf. the concluding lines of poems 43 and 51 and the respective notes to them. See the introductory notes to the poem.

If it plesse only man spirytuel or temporel to bye only
pyes of two and thre comemoracions of salisbury vñ
enprentid after the forme of this preset lettre whiche
ben wel and truly correct, late hym come to westmō
nester in to the almonesche at the red pale and he shal
haue them good chepe. . .

X Pray, do not putt down the Advertisment.
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